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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M. A.

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PYRRHUS.

SOME historians write, that Phæton was the first king after the deluge who reigned over the Thesprotians and Molossians, and that he was one of those who came with Pelasgus into Epirus. Others say, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, after they had built the temple of Dodona,* settled among the Molossians. In after times Neoptolemus,† the son of Achilles, taking his people with him, possessed himself of the country, and left a succession of kings after him, called *Pyrrhidæ;* for in his infancy he was called Pyrrhus; and he gave that name to one of his legitimate sons whom he had by Lanassa the daughter of Cleodes son of Hyllus. From that time Achilles had divine honours in Epirus, being stiled there Aspetos (*i. e.* the Inimitable.) After these first kings, those that followed became entirely barbarous, and both their power and their actions sunk into the utmost obscurity. Tharrytas is the first whom history mentions as remarkable for polishing and improving his cities with Grecian customs,‡ with letters and good laws. Alcetas was the son of Tharrytas, Arybas of Alcetas; and of Arybas and Troias his queen was born Æacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, who acquired great reputation in the Lamian

* Probably it was only a druidical kind of temple.

† Between Deucalions's flood and the times of Neoptolemus, there was a space of about three hundred and forty years.

‡ Justin does not ascribe the civilizing of the Molossians to Tharrytas, but to Arybas the son of Alcetas I. who had himself been polished and humanised by his education at Athens.

war, and, next to Leosthenes, was the most considerable of the confederates. By Phthia Æacides had two daughters named Deidamia and Troias, and a son named Pyrrhus.

But the Molossians, rising against Æacides, deposed him, and brought in the sons of Neoptolemus.* On this occasion the friends of Æacides were taken and slain: only Androclides and Angelus escaped with his infant son, though he was much sought after by his enemies; and carried him off with his nurses and a few necessary attendants. This train rendered their flight difficult and slow, so that they were soon overtaken. In this extremity they put the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias and Neander, three active young men whom they could depend upon and ordered them to make the best of their way to Megaræ, a town in Macedonia; while they themselves, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, stopt the course of the pursuers till evening; when, having with much difficulty got clear of them, they hastened to join those who carried the young prince. At sun-set they thought themselves near the summit of their hopes, but they met with a sudden disappointment. When they came to the river that runs by the town, it looked rough and dreadful; and upon trial, they found it absolutely unfordable: For the current being swelled with the late rains, was very high and boisterous, and darkness added to horror. They now despaired of getting the child and his nurses over, without some other assistance; when perceiving some of the inhabitants of the place on the other side, they begged of them to assist their passage, and held up Pyrrhus towards them. But though they called out loud and entreated earnestly, the stream ran so rapid, and made such a roaring that they could not be heard. Some time was spent, while they were crying out on one side, and listening to no purpose on the other. At last one of Pyrrhus's company thought of peeling off a piece of oak-bark, and of expressing upon it, with the tongue of a buckle, the necessities and fortunes of the child. Accordingly he put this in execution, and having rolled the piece of bark about a stone, which was made use of to give force to the motion, he threw it to the other side. Some say, he bound it fast to a javelin, and darted it over. When the people on the other side had read it, and saw there

* This Neoptolemus was the brother of Arybas.

was not a moment to lose, they cut down trees, and made a raft of them, and crossed the river upon it. It happened that the first man who reached the bank was named Achilles. He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the same service for his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train having thus got safe over, and escaped the pursuers, continued their rout, till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria. They found the king sitting in his palace with the queen his consort,* and laid the child at his feet in the posture of a suppliant. The king who stood in fear of Cassander, the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time silent, considering what part he should act. While Pyrrhus, of his own accord creeping closer to him, took hold of his robe, and raising himself up to his knees, by this action first excited a smile, and afterwards compassion; for he thought he saw a petitioner before him begging his protection with tears. Some say it was not Glaucias, but the altar of the domestic gods which he approached, and that he raised himself by embracing it; from which it appeared to Glaucias that heaven interested itself in the infant's favour. For this reason he put him immediately into the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanding him soon after, and Cassander offering two hundred talents to have him delivered up, Glaucias refused to do it; and when he came to be twelve years old, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majesty rather terrible than august. Instead of teeth in his upper jaw, he had one continued bone, marked with small lines resembling the divisions of a row of teeth. It was believed, that he cured the swelling of the spleen, by sacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently pressing the part affected, the patients lying upon their backs for that purpose. There was no person, however poor or mean, refused this relief, if requested. He received no reward, except the cock for sacrifice, and this present was very agreeable to him. It

* Justin calls this princess Beroa, and says she was of the family of the Æacidæ; which must have been the reason of their seeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court.

is also said, that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for after his death, when the rest of his body was consumed, that toe was found entire and untouched by the flames. But this account belongs not to the period we are upon.

When he was about seventeen years of age, and seemed to be quite established in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's sons, with whom he had been educated. On this occasion the Molossians revolting again, drove out his friends, pillaged his treasures, and put themselves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus lost the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied himself to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia. That princess, when very young, had been promised to Alexander the son of Roxana (by Alexander the Great); but that family being unfortunately cut off, she was given, when she came to be marriageable, to Demetrius. In the great battle of Ipsus, where all the kings of the earth were engaged,* Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius; and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly distinguished himself among the combatants. Nor did he forsake Demetrius when unsuccessful, but kept for him those cities of Greece with which he was intrusted: and when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, he went to Egypt as an hostage. There, both in hunting and other exercises, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his strength and indefatigable abilities. Observing, that among Ptolemy's wives, Berenice was she who had the greatest power, and was most eminent for virtue and understanding, he attached himself most to her. For he had a particular art of making his court to the great, while he overlooked those that were below him. And as in his whole conduct he paid great attention to decency, temperance and prudence, Antigone, who was daughter to Berenice by her first husband Philip, was given him, in preference to many other young princes.

On this account he was held in greater honour than ever: and Antigone proving an excellent wife, procured him men

* He says all the kings of the earth were engaged, because Lysimachus, Selucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, Antigonus, and Demetrius were there in person. This battle was fought about 300 years before Christ.

and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom of Epirus. At his arrival there, his subjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus was become obnoxious to the people, by reason of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Nevertheless, Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourse to some of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and associated him in the kingdom. But in process of time there were some who privately sowed dissention and jealousies between them. Pyrrus's chief quarrel with Neoptolemus is said to have taken its rise as follows: It had been a custom for the kings of Epirus to hold an assembly at Passaron, a place in the province of the Molossians; where, after sacrificing to Jupiter *the warrior*, mutual oaths were taken by them and their subjects, The kings were sworn *to govern according to law*, and the people *to defend the crown according to law*. Both the kings met on this occasion, attended by their friends, and after the ceremony, great presents were made on all sides. Gelon, who was very cordially attached to Neoptolemus, among the rest, paid his respects to Pyrrhus, and made him a present of two yoke of oxen.* Myrtilus, one of this prince's cupbearers, begged them of him; but Pyrrhus refused him, and gave them to another. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus took the disappointment extremely ill, invited him to sup with him. After supper he solicited him to embrace the interest of Neoptolemus, and to poison Pyrrhus. Myrtilus seemed to listen to his suggestions with satisfaction, but discovered the whole to his master. Then, by his order, he introduced to Gelon the chief cupbearer Alexicrates, as a person who was willing to enter into the conspiracy: for Pyrrhus was desirous to have more than one witness to so black an enterprise. Gelon being thus deceived, Neoptolemus was deceived with him; and, thinking the affair in great forwardness, could not contain himself, but in the excess of his joy mentioned it to his friends. One evening, in particular, being at supper with his sister Cadmia, he discovered the whole design, thinking nobody else within hearing. And indeed there was none in the room but Phænarete, the wife of Samon, chief keeper of Neoptolemus's cattle; and she laid upon a couch with her face turned towards the wall, and seemed to be asleep.

* This present was characteristical of the simplicity of ancient times.

She heard, however, the whole, without being suspected, and went the next day to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and related to her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. This was immediately laid before Pyrrhus, who took no notice of it for the present. But, on occassion of a solemn sacrifice, he invited Neoptolemus to supper, and took that opportunity to kill him. For he was well assured that all the leading men in Epirus were strongly attached to him, and wanted him to remove Neoptolemus out of the way; that, no longer satisfied with a small share of the kingdom, he might possess himself of the whole; and by following his genius, rise to great attempts. And, as they had now a strong suspicion besides, that Neoptolemus was practising against him, they thought this was the time to prevent him by giving him the fatal blow.

In acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his son by Antigone *Ptolemy*, and called the city which he built in the Chersonese of Epirus, Berenicis. From this time he began to conceive many great designs, but his first hopes laid hold of all that was near home: and he found a plausible pretence to concern himself in the affairs of Macedonia. Antipator, the eldest son of Cassander, had killed his mother Thessalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander sent to Demetrius for succour, and implored likewise the assistance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius having many affairs upon his hands, could not presently comply; but Pyrrhus came and demanded as the reward of his services, the city of Nymphæa,* and all the maritime coast of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were some of the countries that did not originally belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince agreeing to the conditions, Pyrrhus possessed himself of these countries, and secured them with his garrisons; after which he went on conquering the rest for Alexander, and driving Antipator before him.

King Lysimachus was well inclined to give Antipater assistance, but he was so much engaged with his own affairs,

* Dacier thinks Appollonia might be called Nymphæa from Nymphæum, a celebrated rock in its neighbourhood. Palmerius would read Tymphæa; that being the name of a town in those parts. There was a city called Nymphæum in the Taurica Chersonesus, but that could not be meant here.

that he could not find time for it. Recollecting, however, that Pyrrhus would refuse nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, enjoining him to evacuate Macedonia, and to be satisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no sooner opened the letters, than he perceived the forgery. For, instead of the customary salutation, *The father to his son, greeting*, they began with, *King Ptolemy to King Pyrrhus, greeting*. He inveighed against Lysimachus for the fraud, but listened, notwithstanding, to proposals of peace; and the three princes met to offer sacrifices on the occasion, and to swear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull, and a ram, being led up as victims, the ram dropt down dead of himself. The rest of the company laughed at the accident; but Theodotus the diviner advised Pyrrhus not to swear, declaring that the deity presignified the death of one of the kings; upon which he refused to ratify the peace.

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageously settled;* nevertheless Demetrius came. But it soon appeared that he came now unrequested, and that his presence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had been a few days together, in mutual distrust, they laid snares for each other: But Demetrius finding the first opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himself proclaimed king of Macedon.

He had for a long time had subjects of complaint against Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which he had made into Thessaly. Besides, that ambition to extend their dominions, which is a distemper natural to kings, rendered their neighbourhood mutually alarming. These jealousies increased after the death of Deidamia. At last each having possessed himself of part of Macedonia, and having one object in view, the gaining of the whole, this produced of course new causes of contention. Demetrius marched against the Ætolians, and reduced them. After which he left Pantauchus among them with a considerable force, and went himself to seek Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as soon as he was apprised of his design, went to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently passed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and

* Alexander was murdered soon after.

Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The dispute was warm and obstinate on both sides, especially where the generals fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and strength, stood foremost among the officers of Demetrius, and withal was a man of a high and ambitious spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valour and renown, and who was desirous to appropriate to himself the honours of Achilles, rather by his sword than by kindred, advanced through the first lines against Pantauchus. They began with the javelin; and then coming to the sword, exhausted all that art or strength could supply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adversary two, one in the thigh, and the other in the neck; by which he overpowered him, and brought him to the ground; but could not kill him outright, because he was rescued by his friends. The Epirots elated with their prince's victory, and admiring his valour, broke into and dispersed the Macedonian phalanx, and pursuing the fugitives, killed great numbers of them, and took five thousand prisoners.

This battle did not so much excite the resentment and hatred of the Macedonians against Pyrrhus for what they suffered, as it inspired them with an esteem of his abilities and admiration of his valour. This furnished subject of discourse to all who were witnesses of his exploits, or were engaged against him in the action. For he recalled to their minds the countenance, the swiftness, and motion of Alexander the great; in Pyrrhus they thought they saw the very image of his force and impetuosity. And while the other kings represented that hero only in their purple robes, in the number of guards, the bend of the neck, and the lofty manner of speaking, the king of Epirus represented him in deeds of arms and personal achievements. And of his great skill in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings he left behind him. It is also said, that Antigonus, being asked "Who was the greatest general?" answered, "Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to be old." Antigonus, indeed, spoke only of the generals of his time: but Hannibal said, that, of all the world had ever beheld, the first in genius and skill was Pyrrhus, Scipio the second, and himself the third; as we have written in

the life of Scipio *. This was the only science he applied himself to; this was the subject of his thoughts and conversation: for he considered it as a royal study, and looked upon other arts as mere trifling amusements. And it is reported, that when he was asked, "Whether he thought Python or Cæphisias the best musician?" "Polysperchon," said he, "is the general;" intimating that this was the only point which it became a king to inquire into or know.

In the intercourse of his life he was mild and not easily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindness. For this reason he was greatly afflicted at the death of Æropus. "His friend," he said, "had only paid the tribute to nature, but he blamed and reproached himself for putting off his acknowledgments, till, by these delays, he had lost the opportunity of making any return. For those that owe money, can pay it to the heirs of the deceased, but when a return of kindnesses is not made to a person in his lifetime, it grieves the heart that has any goodness and honour in it." When some advised him to banish a certain ill-tongued Ambracian, who abused him behind his back, "Let the fellow stay here," said he, "and speak against me to a few, rather than ramble about, and give me a bad character to all the world." And some young men having taken great liberties with his character in their cups, and being afterwards brought to answer for it, he asked them, "Whether they really had said such things?" "We did, sir," answered one of them, "and should have said a great deal more, if we had had more wine."... Upon which he laughed, and dismissed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married several wives for the purposes of interest and power: namely the daughter of Autoleon, king of the Pæonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him in dowry the isle of Corcyra, which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a son named Ptolemy; by Lanassa he had Alexander; and by Bircenna, his youngest son Helenus. All these princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their martial ardour by giving them a suitable

* This is differently related in the life of Flaminius. There it is said, that Hannibal placed Alexander first, Pyrrhus second, and himself the third.

education from their infancy. For it is said, when he was asked by one of them, who was yet a child, "To which of them he would leave his kingdom?" he said, "to him who has the sharpest sword." This was very like that tragical legacy of Oedipus to his sons:

The sword's keen point th' inheritance shall part.*

After the battle Pyrrhus returned home distinguished with glory, and still more elevated in his sentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occasion the name of Eagle, he said, "If I am an eagle, you have made me one: for it is upon your arms, upon your wings, that I have risen so high."

Soon after, having intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerously ill, he suddenly entered Macedonia,† intending only an inroad to pillage the country. But he was very near seizing the whole, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he pushed forward as far as Edessa without meeting with any resistance: on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp and joined him. The danger awaked Demetrius, and made him act above his strength. His friends too, and officers quickly assembled a good body of troops, and moved forward with great spirit and vigour against Pyrrhus. But as he came only with a design to plunder, he did not stand to receive them. He lost however, a considerable number of men in his retreat, for the Macedonians harassed his rear all the way

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with so much ease, was far from slighting and despising him afterwards. But as he meditated great things and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom with an army of a hundred thousand men, and five hundred sail of ships, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himself with Pyrrhus, or to leave behind him so dangerous a neighbour. And as he was not at leisure to continue the war with him, he concluded a peace, that he might turn his arms with more security against the other kings ‡ The designs of Demetrius were soon discovered by this peace,

* Phenissæ of Euripides, ver. 68.

† In the third year of the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad, two hundred and eighty-four years before Christ.

‡ Selucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus.

and by the greatness of his preparations. The kings were alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus with letters, expressing their astonishment, that he neglected this opportunity to make war upon Demetrius. They represented with how much ease he might drive him out of Macedonia, thus engaged as he was in many troublesome enterprises; instead of which, he waited till Demetrius had dispatched all his other affairs, and was grown so much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the necessity of fighting for the altars of his gods and the sepulchres of his ancestors in Molossia itself: and this too, when he had just been deprived by Demetrius of the isle of Corcyra, together with his wife. For Lanassa having her complaints against Pyrrhus, for paying more attention to his other wives, though barbarians, than to her, had retired to Corcyra; and wanting to marry another king, invited Demetrius to receive her hand, knowing him to be more inclined to marriage than any of the neighbouring princes. Accordingly he sailed to the island, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

The kings, at the same time that they wrote these letters to Pyrrhus, took the field themselves to harass Demetrius, who delayed his expedition, and continued his preparations. Ptolemy put to sea with a great fleet, and drew off many of the Grecian cities. Lysimachus entered the upper Macedonia from Thrace, and ravaged the country. And Pyrrhus taking up arms at the same time, marched against Berœa, expecting that Demetrius would go to meet Lysimachus, and leave the lower Macedonia unguarded; which fell out accordingly. The night before he set out, he dreamed that Alexander the Great called him, and that when he came to him he found him sick in bed, but was received with many obliging expressions of friendship, and a promise of sudden assistance. Pyrrhus said, "How can you, Sir, who are sick, be able to assist me?" Alexander answered, "I will do it with my name?" and at the same time, he mounted a Nisæan horse,* and seemed to lead the way.

Pyrrhus, greatly encouraged by this vision, advanced with the utmost expedition, and having traversed the inter-

* Nisæa was a province near the Caspian sea, which Strabo tells us was famous for its breed of horses, The kings of persia used to provide themselves there. *Strabo,* lib. xi.

mediate countries, came before Berœa and took it. There he fixed his head-quarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived moreover, a spirit of mutiny among the Macedonians in his camp, he was afraid to proceed farther, lest when they came in sight of a Macedonian prince, and one of an illustrious character too, they should revolt to him. He therefore turned back, and led them against Pyrrhus, who was a stranger, and the object of their hatred. Upon his encamping near Berœa, many inhabitants of that place mixed with his soldiers, and highly extolled Pyrrhus. They represented him as a man invincible in arms, of uncommon magnanimity, and one who treated those who fell into his hands with great gentleness and humanity. There were also some of Pyrrhus's emissaries, who, pretending themselves Macedonians observed to Demetrius's men, that then was the time to get free from his cruel yoke, and to embrace the interests of Pyrrhus, who was a popular man and who loved a soldier. After this, the greatest part of the army was in a ferment, and they cast their eyes around for Pyrrhus. It happened that he was then without his helmet; but recollecting himself, he soon put it on again, and was immediately known by his lofty plume and his crest of goats horns.* Many of the Macedonians now ran to him and begged him to give them the word ;† while others crowned themselves with branches of oak, because they saw them worn by his men. Some had even the confidence to tell Demetrius, that the most prudent part he could take, would be to withdraw, and lay down the government. As he found the motions of the army agreeable to this sort of discourse, he was terrified and made off privately, disguised in a mean cloak, and a common Macedonian hat. Pyrrhus, upon this, became master of the camp without striking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

Lysimachus made his appearance soon after, and, pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of

* Alexander the Great is represented on his medals with such a crest. The goat, indeed, was the symbol of the kingdom of Macedon. The prophet Daniel uses it as such. The original of that symbol may be found in Justin.

† συνθημα προστρεχοντας αιτειν.....

συνθημα may signify *the word*, because it helps to keep the soldiers together.

Demetrius, demanded his share of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himself not sufficiently established among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious situation, accepted the proposal: and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition seemed to be of service for the present, and prevented their going directly to war; but soon after they found it the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels, instead of a perfect reconciliation. For how is it possible that they whose ambition is not to be terminated by seas and mountains and uninhabitable deserts, whose thirst of dominion is not to be confined by the bounds that part Europe and Asia, should, when so near each other, and joined in one lot, sit down contented, and abstain from mutual injuries? Undoubtedly they are always at war in their hearts, having the seeds of perfidy and envy there. As for the names of peace and war, they apply them occasionally, like money, to their use, not to the purposes of justice. And they act with much more probity when they professedly make war, than when they sanctify a short truce, and cessation of mutual injuries, with the names of justice and friendship. Pyrrhus was a proof of this. For opposing Demetrius again, when his affairs began to be a little re-established, and checking his power, which seemed to be recovering, as it were from a great illness, he marched to the assistance of the Grecians, and went in person to Athens. He ascended into the citadel, and sacrificed to the goddess; after which he came down into the city the same day, and thus addressed the people; "I think myself happy in this testimony of the kind regard of the Athenians, and of the confidence they put in me; I advise them, however, as they tender their safety, never to admit another king within their walls, but to shut their gates against all that shall desire it."*

Soon after this he concluded a peace with Demetrius: And yet Demetrius was no sooner passed into Asia, than Pyrrhus at the instigation of Lysimachus, drew off Thessaly from its allegiance, and attacked his garrisons in Greece. He found, indeed, the Macedonians better subjects in time of war than in peace, besides that he himself was more fit for action than repose. At last Demetrius being entirely

* The Athenians followed his advice, and drove out Demetrius's garrison.

defeated in Syria, Lysimachus, who had nothing to fear from that quarter, nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned his forces against Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edessa. Upon his arrival, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, and took it, by which he greatly distressed his troops for want of provisions. Besides this, he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emissaries, reproaching them for choosing for their sovereign a stranger, whose ancestors had always been subject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the friends and companions of Alexander. As the majority listened to these suggestions, Pyrrhus, fearing the event, withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and so lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it. Kings, therefore, have no reason to blame the people for changing for interest, since in that they do but imitate their masters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiousness, and who think that man most capable of serving them, who pays the least regard to honesty.

When Pyrrhus had thus retired into Epirus, and left Macedonia, he had a fair occasion given him by fortune to enjoy himself in quiet, and to govern his own kingdom in peace. But he was persuaded, that neither to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them, was a life insufferably languishing and tedious. Like Achilles he could not endure inaction :

> He pin'd in dull repose; his head indignant
> Bade the scene change to war, to wounds, and death.

His anxiety for fresh employment was relieved as follows: The Romans were then at war with the Tarentines. The latter were not able to support the dispute, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not suffer them to put an end to it. They resolved, therefore, to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command; there being no other prince who had then so much leisure, or was so able a general. The oldest and most sensible of the citizens opposed this measure, but were overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude ; and when they saw this, they no longer attended the assemblies. But there was a worthy man, named Meton, who, on the day that the decree was to be ratified, after the people had taken their seats, came into the assembly, with an air of intoxication,

having, like persons in that condition, a withered garland upon his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on the flute before him. As no decorum can well be observed by a crowd of people in a free state, some clapped their hands, others laughed, but nobody pretended to stop him. On the contrary, they called upon the woman to play, and him to come forward and sing. Silence being made, he said, "Men of Tarentum, ye do extremely well to suffer those who have a mind to it, to play and be merry, while they may; and, if you are wise, you will all now enjoy the same liberty: for you must have other business, and another kind of life, when Pyrrhus once enters your city." This address made a great impression upon the Tarentines, and a whisper of assent ran through the assembly. But some fearing that they should be delivered up to the Romans, if peace were made, reproached the people with so tamely suffering themselves to be made a jest of, and insulted by a drunkard; and then turning upon Meton, they thrust him out. The decree thus being confirmed, they sent ambassadors to Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of the other Greeks in Italy, with presents to Pyrrhus, and orders to tell him, That they wanted a general of ability and character..... As for troops, he would find a large supply of them upon the spot, from the Lucanians, the Messapians, the Samnites, and Tarentines, to the amount of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot." These promises not only elevated Pyrrhus, but raised in the Epirots a strong inclination to the war.

There was then at the court of Pyrrhus, a Thessalian named Cineas a man of sound sense, and who having been a disciple of Demosthenes, was the only orator of his time that presented his hearers with a lively image of the force and spirit of that great master. This man had devoted himself to Pyrrhus, and in all the embassies he was employed in, confirmed that saying of Euripides:

The gates that steel exclude, resistless eloquence shall enter.

This made Pyrrhus say, "That Cineas had gained him more cities by his address, than he had won by his arms;" and he continued to heap honours and employments upon him. Cineas now seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at

leisure, to draw him into the following conversation: The Romans have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have the command of many warlike nations; if it please Heaven that we conquer them, what use, Sir, shall we make of our victory?" "Cineas," replied the king, "your question answers itself. When the Romans are once subdued, there is no town, whether Greek or barbarian, in all the country that will dare oppose us; but we shall immediately be masters of all Italy, whose greatness, power, and importance, no man knows better than you." Cineas, after a short pause, continued: "But, after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do next, Sir?" Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied, "There is Sicily very near, and stretches out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and populous island, and easy to be taken. For Agathocles was no sooner gone, than faction and anarchy prevailed among her cities, and every thing is kept in confusion by her turbulent demagogues." "What you say, my prince," said Cineas, "is very probable: but is the taking of Sicily to conclude our expeditions?" "Far from it," answered Pyrrhus, "for if Heaven grant us success in this, that success shall only be the prelude to greater things. Who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then within reach? which Agathocles, even when he fled in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, and crossed the sea with a few ships only, had almost made himself master of. And when we have made such conquests, who can pretend to say that any of our enemies, who are now so insolent, will think of resisting us?" "To be sure," said Cineas, they will not; for it is clear that so much power will enable you to recover Macedonia, and to establish yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?" "Why then, my friend," said Pyrrhus, laughing, "we will take our ease, and drink and be merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us from drinking and taking our ease now, when we have already those things in our hands, at which we propose to arrive through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, through innumerable calamities which we must both cause and suffer?"

This discourse of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He saw the certain happiness which he gave up, but was not able to forego the hopes that flattered his desire. In the first place, therefore, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand foot; from whence there arrived, soon after, a great number of galleys transports, and flat-bottomed boats, on board of which he put twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers; When all was ready, he set sail; but as soon as he was got into the midst of the Ionian, he was attacked by a violent wind at north, which was unusual at that season. The storm raged terribly, but by the skill and extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ship made the Italian shore, with infinite labour, and beyond all expectation. The rest of the fleet could not hold their course, but were dispersed far and wide. Some of the ships were quite beaten off from the coast of Italy, and driven into the Libyan and Sicilian sea: others not being able to double the Cape of Japygia, were overtaken by the night: and, a great and boisterous sea driving them upon a difficult and rocky shore, they were all in the utmost distress. The king's ship, indeed, by its size and strength, resisted the force of the waves, while the wind blue from the sea: but that coming about, and blowing directly from the shore, the ship, as she stood with her head against it, was in danger of opening by the shocks she received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempestuous sea, while the wind continually shifted from point to point, seemed the most dreadful case of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himself overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who strove which should give him the best assistance. But the darkness of the night, and the roaring and resistance of the waves, which beat upon the shore, and were driven back with equal violence, rendered it extremely difficult to save him. At last, by day-break the wind being considerably fallen, with much trouble he got ashore, greatly weakened in body, but with a strength and firmness of mind which bravely combated the distress. At the same time the Messapians, on whose coast he was cast, ran down to give them all the succour in their power. They also met with some other of his vessels that had weathered the storm, in which were a small number of

horse, not quite two thousand foot, and two elephants. With these Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces, and went to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not choose to have recourse to compulsion at first, nor to do any thing against the inclination of the inhabitants, till his ships were safe arrived, and the greatest part of his forces collected. But, after this, seeing the Tarentines, so far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not even defend themselves, except they were driven to it by necessity; and that they sat still at home, and spent their time about the baths or in feasting and idle talk, as expecting that he would fight for them; he shut up the places of exercise and the walks, where they used, as they sauntered along, to conduct the war with words. He also put a stop to their unseasonable entertainments, revels, and diversions. Instead of these he called them to arms, and in his musters and reviews was severe and inexorable; so that many of them quitted the place; for being unaccustomed to be under command, they called that a slavery which was not a life of pleasure.

He now received intelligence that Lævinus, the Roman consul, was coming against him with a great army, and ravaging Lucania by the way. And though the confederates were not come up, yet looking upon it as a disgrace to sit still and see the enemy approach still nearer, he took the field with the troops he had. But first he sent a herald to the Romans, with proposals, before they came to extremities, to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for the mediator and umpire. Lævinus answered, "That the Romans neither accepted Pyrrhus as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy." Whereupon, he marched forward, and encamped upon the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea: and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he saw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was struck with admiration, and said to a friend who was by, "Megacles, the disposition of these barbarians has nothing of the barbarian in it: we shall see whether the rest will answer it." He now became solicitous for the event, and de-

termining to wait for the allies, set a guard upon the river, to oppose the Romans if they should endeavour to pass it. The Romans, on their part, hastening to prevent the coming up of those forces, which he had resolved to wait for, attempted the passage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could: so that the Greeks were afraid of being surrounded, and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, greatly concerted at this, ordered his foot-officers to draw up the forces, and to stand to their arms; while he advanced with the horse, who were about three thousand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet busied in the passage, and dispersed without any order. But when he saw a great number of shields glittering above the water, and the horse preserving their ranks as they passed, he closed his own ranks and began the attack. Beside his being distinguished by the beauty and lustre of his arms, which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valour worthy the great reputation he had acquired. For, though he exposed his person in the hottest of the engagement, and charged with the greatest vigour, he was never in the least disturbed, nor lost his presence of mind; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this side or that as occasion required, to support his men where he saw them maintaining an unequal fight.

Leonatus of Macedon observed an Italian horseman very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his post as he did, and regulated all his motions by his. Whereupon he rode up, and said to him, "Do you see, Sir, that barbarian upon the black horse with white feet? he seems to meditate some great and dreadful design. He keeps you in his eye; full of fire and spirit, he singles you out, and takes no notice of any body else. Therefore be on your guard against him." Pyrrhus answered, "It is impossible, Leonatus, to avoid our destiny. But neither this nor any other Italian shall have much satisfaction in engaging with me." While they were yet speaking, the Italian levelled his spear, and spurred his horse against Pyrrhus. He missed the king, but run his horse through, as Leonatas did the Italian's the same moment, so that both horses fell together. Pyrrhus was carried off by his friends who gathered round him, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very last. This brave man had the com-

mand of a troop of horse ; Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name Oplacus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious. And now seeing his cavalry give ground, he sent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as soon as they came up. Then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles one of his friends, he disguised himself in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with great firmness, and the success of the battle remained long undecided. It is even said, that each army was broken and gave way seven times, and rallied as often. He changed his arms very seasonably, for that saved his life ; but at the same time it had nearly ruined his affairs, and lost him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles ; but the man who first wounded him and brought him to the ground, was named Dexous. Dexous seized his helmet and his robe, and rode up to Lævinus, showing the spoils, and crying out that he had slain Pyrrhus. The spoils being passed from rank to rank, as it were in triumph, the Roman army shouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was struck with grief and consternation. This held till Pyrrhus, apprised of what had happened, rode about the army uncovered, stretching out his hand to his soldiers, and giving them to know him by his voice. At last the Romans were worsted chiefly by means of the elephants : For the horses, before they came near them, were frightened, and ran back with their riders ; and Pyrrhus commanding his Thessalian cavalry to fall upon them while in this disorder, they were routed with great slaughter. Dionysius writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans fell in this batle ; but Hieronymus makes the number only seven thousand. On Pyrrhus's side Dionysius says, there were thirteen thousand killed ; Hieronymus, not quite four thousand. Among, these, however, were the most valuable of his friends and officers, whose services he had made great use of, and in whom he had placed the highest confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deserted. He gained over many cities which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waste the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-seven miles of Rome itself. The Lucanians and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay ; but it was plain that he was greatly elevated and delighted

with having defeated so powerful an army of Romans with the assistance of the Tarentines only.

The Romans, on this occasion, did not take the command from Lævinus, though Caius Fabricius is reported to have said, "That the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus:" intimating, that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of the general, not of his troops. Then raising new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they struck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper, therefore, to send an embassy to them first, to try whether they were disposed to peace; being satisfied that to take the city, and make an absolute conquest, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by such an army as his was at that time; whereas, if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be very glorious for him after such a victory.

Cineas, who was sent with this commission, applied to the great men, and sent them and their wives presents in his master's name. But they all refused them; the women as well as the men, declaring, "That when Rome had publicly ratified a treaty with the King, they should then on their parts be ready to give him every mark of their friendship and respect." And though Cineas made a very engaging speech to the senate, and used many arguments to induce them to close with him, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propositions, notwithstanding that Pyrrhus offered to restore, without ransom, the prisoners he had made in the battle, and promised to sssist them in the conquest of Italy, desiring nothing in return but their friendship for himself, and security for the Tarentines. Some, indeed, seemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already lost a great battle, and had a still greater to expect, since Pyrrhus was joined by several nations in Italy. There was then an illustrious Roman, Appius Claudius by name, who, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, had declined all attendance to public business. But when he heard of the embassy from Pyrrhus, and the report prevailed that the senate was going to vote for the peace, he could not contain himself, but ordered his servants to take him up, and carry him in his chair through the *forum* to the senate-house. When he was brought to the door, his

sons and sons-in-law received him, and led him into the senate. A respectful silence was observed by the whole body on his appearance; and he delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "Hitherto I have regarded my blindness as a misfortune, but now, Romans, I wish I had been as deaf as I am blind; for then I should not have heard of your shameful counsels and decrees so ruinous to the glory of Rome. Where now are your speeches so much echoed about the world, that if Alexander the Great had come into Italy, when we were young, and your fathers in the vigour of their age, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but either by his flight or his fall would have added to the glory of Rome? You now show the vanity and folly of that boast, while you dread the Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever a prey to the Macedonians, and tremble at the name of Pyrrhus, who has all his life been paying his court to one of the guards of that Alexander. At present he wanders about Italy, not so much to succour the Greeks here, as to avoid his enemies at home; and he promises to procure us the empire of this country with those forces which could not enable him to keep a small part of Macedonia. Do not expect, then, to get rid of him, by entering into alliance with him. That step will only open a door to many invaders. For who is there that will not despise you, and think you an easy conquest, if Pyrrhus not only escapes unpunished for his insolence, but gains the Taretines and Samnites, as a reward for insulting the Romans?"

Appius had no sooner done speaking, than they voted unanimously for the war, and dismissed Cineas with this answer, "That when Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would enter upon a treaty of friendship and alliance with him, if he desired it: but while he continued there in a hostile manner, they would prosecute the war against him with all their force, though he should have defeated a thousand Lævinus's."

It is said, that Cineas, while he was upon this business, took great pains to observe the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government. And when he had learned what he desired, by conversing with their great men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus; and told him among the rest, "That the senate

appeared to him an assembly of kings; and as to the people, they were so numerous, that he was afraid he had to do with a Lernæan hydra." For the consul had already an army on foot twice as large as the former, and had left multitudes behind in Rome of a proper age for enlisting, and sufficient to form many such armies.

After this, Fabricius came ambassador to Pyrrhus to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners. Fabricius, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, and privately offered him gold; not for any base purpose; but he begged of him to accept of it as a pledge of friendship and hospitality. Fabricius refusing the present, Pyrrhus pressed him no farther: but the next day wanting to surprize him, and knowing that he had never seen an elephant, he ordered the biggest he had, to be armed and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. Accordingly this was done, and upon a sign given, the curtain drawn; and the elephant rising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius turned about without being in the least discomposed, and said to Pyrrhus smiling, Neither your gold yesterday, nor your beast to-day, has made any impression on me."

In the evening, the conversation at table turned upon many subjects, but chiefly upon Greece and the Grecian philosophers. This led Cineas to mention Epicurus,* and to give some account of the opinions of his sect concerning the gods and civil government. He said, they placed the chief happiness of man in pleasure, and avoided all concern in the administration of affairs as the bane of a happy life; and that they attributed to the Deity neither benevolence nor anger, but maintained, that, far removed from the care of human affairs, he passed his time in ease and inactivity, and was totally immersed in pleasure. While he was yet speaking Fabricius cried out, "O heavens! may Pyrrhus and the Samnites adopt these opinions as long as they are at war with the Romans!" Pyrrhus admiring the noble sentiments and principles of Fabricius,

* Epicurus was then living. The doctrines of that philosopher were greatly in vogue in Rome, just before the ruin of the commonwealth.

was more desirous than ever of establishing a friendship with Rome, instead of continuing the war. And taking Fabricius aside, he pressed him to mediate a peace, and then go and settle at his court, where he should be his most intimate companion, and the chief of his generals. Fabricius answering in a low voice, "That, Sir, would be no advantage to you: for those who now honour and admire you, should they once have experience of me, would rather choose to be governed by me than you." Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus, far from being offended at this answer, or taking it like a tyrant, made his friends acquainted with the magnanimity of Fabricius, and intrusted the prisoners to him, only on condition that if the senate did not agree to a peace, they should be sent back, after they had embraced their relations and celebrated the Saturnalia.

After this, Fabricus being consul,* an unknown person came to his camp with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poison, and so end the war without any farther hazard to the Romans, provided that they gave him a proper compensation for his services. Fabricius detested the man's villainy; and, having brought his colleague into the same sentiments, sent dispatches to Pyrrhus without losing a moment's time, to caution him against the treason. The letter ran thus:

"Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls, to king Pyrrhus, health.

"It appears that you judge very ill both of your friends and enemies. For you will find by this letter which was sent to us, that you are at war with men of virtue and honour, and trust knaves and villains. Nor is it out of kindness that we give you this information; but we do it, lest your death should bring a disgrace upon us, and we should seem to have put a period to the war by treachery, when we could not do it by valour."

Pyrrhus having read the letter, and detected the treason, punished the physician; and, to show his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, he delivered up the prisoners without ransom, and sent Cineas again to negotiate a peace. The Romans unwilling to receive a favour from an enemy, or a reward for not consenting to an ill thing, did indeed receive the prisoners at his hands, but sent him an equal

* Two-hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ.

number of Tarentines and Samnites. As to peace and friendship, they would not hear any proposals about it, till Pyrrhus should have laid down his arms, drawn his forces out of Italy, and returned to Epirus in the same ships in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he assembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Asculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and marshy * also towards the river, so that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reason he had a great number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving, by an act of generalship, to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might come at the enemy, he seized in time that difficult post where they fought the day before. Then he planted a number of archers and slingers among his elephants; thickened his other ranks; and moved forward in good order, though with great force and impetuosity against the Romans.

The Romans who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleased, were obliged to fight upon the plain man to man. They hastened to break the enemy's infantry, before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their swords against the pikes; not regarding themselves or the wounds they received, but only looking where they might strike and slay. After a long dispute, however, the Romans were forced to give way; which they did first where Pyrrhus fought in person; for they could not resist the fury of his attack. Indeed, it was the force and weight of the elephants which put them quite to the rout. The Roman valour being of no use against those fierce creatures, the troops thought it wiser to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in a fruitless opposition, when they could gain no advantage, though they suffered the greatest extremities. And they had not far to fly before they gained their camp. Hieronymus says the Romans lost six thousand men in the action, and Pyrrhus, according to the account

* ὑλαῶδης signifies *marshy*, as well as *woody*,

in his own Commentaries, lost three thousand five hundred. Nevertheless, Dionysius does not tell us, that there were two battles at Asculum, nor that it was clear that the Romans were defeated; but that the action lasted till sun-set, and then the combatants parted unwillingly, Pyrrhus being wounded in the arm with a javelin, and the Samnites having plundered his baggage; and that the number of the slain counting the loss on both sides, amounted to above fifteen thousand men. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on the victory, he said, "Such another victory, and we are undone." For he had lost great part of the forces which he had brought with him, and all his friends and officers, except a very small number. He had no others to send for to supply their place, and he found his confederates here very cold and spiritless. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with ease and dispatch, from an inexhaustible fountain which they had at home; and their defeats were so far from discouraging them, that indignation gave them fresh strength and ardour for the war.

Amidst these difficulties, new hopes, as vain as the former, offered themselves to Pyrrhus, and enterprises which distracted him in the choice. On one side, ambassadors came from Sicily, who proposed to put Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines in his hands, and desired him to drive the Carthaginians out of the island, and free it from tyrants; and on the other side, news was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a seasonable juncture for him to offer himself to the Macedonians who wanted a king.* On this occasion he complained greatly of fortune, for offering him two such glorious opportunities of action at once: and, afflicted to think that in embracing one he must necessarily give up the other, he was a long time perplexed and doubtful which to fix upon. At last the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, by reason of its nearness to Africa, he determined to go thither, and immediately dispatched Cineas before

* Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain three years before, during the consulate of Lævinus. After him the Macedonians had several kings in quick succession. All, therefore, that the letters could import, must be, that the Macedonians would prefer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who at present was in possession.

him, according to custom, to treat with the cities in his behalf. He placed; however, a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people; who insisted that he should either fulfil the purpose he came for, by staying to assist them effectually in the Roman war, or, if he would be gone, to leave their city as he found it. But he gave them a severe answer, ordered them to be quiet and wait his time, and so set sail.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing disposed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put themselves in his hands: and wherever force was necessary, nothing at first made any considerable resistance to his arms. But with thirty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, and two hundred sail of ships, he advanced against the Carthaginians, drove them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx was the strongest city in those parts, and the best provided with men for its defence; yet he resolved to take it by storm. As soon as his army was in readiness to give the assault, he armed himself at all points; and, advancing towards the walls, made a vow to Hercules of games and sacrifices in acknowledgment of the victory, if in that day's action he should distinguish himself before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner that became his great descent and his fortunes. Then he ordered the signal to be given by sound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his missive weapons, he planted the scaling-ladders, and was himself the first that mounted.

There he was attacked by a crowd of enemies, some of whom he drove back, others he pushed down from the wall on both sides; but the greatest part he slew with his sword, so that there was quite a rampart of dead bodies around him. In the mean time he himself received not the least harm but appeared to his enemies in the awful character of some superior being; showing on this occasion, that Homer spoke with judgment and knowledge, when he represented valour as the only virtue which discovers a divine energy, and those enthusiastic transports which raise a man above himself. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificient sacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of shows and games.

Of all the barbarians, those about Messena, who were called Mamertines, gave the Greeks the most trouble, and had subjected many of them to tribute. They were a

numerous and warlike people, and thence had the appellation of Mamertines, which in the Latin tongue signifies *martial*. But Pyrrhus seized the collectors of the tribute, and put them to death; and having defeated the Mamertines in a set battle, he destroyed many of their strong holds.

The Carthaginians were now inclined to peace, and offered him both money and ships, on condition that he granted them his friendship. But, having farther prospects, he made answer, that there was only one way to peace and friendship, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Libyan sea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with prosperity and his present strength, he thought of nothing but pursuing the hopes which first drew him into Sicily.

His first object now was Africa. He had vessels enough for his purpose, but he wanted mariners. And in the collecting of them he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation: on the contrary, he carried it to the cities with a high hand and with great rigour, seconding his orders for a supply with force, and severely chastising those who disobeyed them. This was not the conduct which he had observed at first: for then he was gracious and affable to an extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the least uneasiness. By these means he had gained their hearts. But now turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his austerity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiousness. Necessity, however, obliged them to furnish him with what he demanded, though they were little disposed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections, was his behaviour to Thonon and Sostratus, two persons of the greatest authority in Syracuse. These were the men who first invited him into Sicily, who upon his arrival immediately put their city in his hands, and who had been the principal instruments of the great things he had done in the island. Yet his suspicions would neither let him take them with him, nor leave them behind him. Sostratus took the alarm and fled. Whereupon Thonon was seized by Pyrrhus, who alleged that he was an accomplice with Sostratus, and put him to death. Then his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually and by little and little, but all at once. And the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led some of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines.

While he thus saw nothing around him but cabals, seditions, and insurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themselves within their walls, begged his assistance. This afforded a handsome pretence for his departure, without its being called a flight, and an absolute giving up his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that no longer being able to hold the island, he quitted it, like a shattered ship, and threw himself again into Italy. It is reported, that, as he sailed away, he looked back upon the isle, and said to those about him, "What a field we leave the Carthaginians and Romans to exercise their arms in!" and his conjecture was soon after verified.

The barbarians rose against him as he set sail; and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his passage, he lost many of his ships: with the remainder he gained the Italian shore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thousand, had got thither before him; and, though they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, yet they attacked and harrassed him in the difficult passes, and put his whole army in disorder. He lost two elephants, and a considerable part of his rear was cut in pieces. But he immediately pushed from the van to their assistance, and risked his person in the boldest manner, against men trained by long practice to war, who fought with a spirit of resentment. In this dispute he received a wound in the head, which forced him to retire a little out of the battle, and animated the enemy still more. One of them, therefore, who was distinguished both by his size and arms, advanced before the lines and with a loud voice called upon him to come forth if he was alive. Pyrrhus incensed at this, returned with his guards, and, with a visage so fierce with anger, and so besmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions, notwithstanding their remonstrances. Thus rushing upon the barbarian, he prevented his blow, and gave him such a stroke on the head with his sword, that, with the strength of his arm, and the excellent temper of the weapon, he cleaved him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell asunder. The achievement stopped the course of the barbarians, who were struck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a superior being. He made the rest of his march, therefore, without disturbance, and arrived at Tarentum.

with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then taking with him the best troops that he found there, he advanced immediately against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were run to ruin, and their spirits sunk, because they had been beaten in several battles by the Romans. There remained also in their hearts some resentment against Pyrrhus on account of his leaving them to go to Sicily, so that few of them repaired to his standard. The forces that he had, he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to keep one of the consuls * employed, and hinder him from assisting his colleague: with the other corps he marched in person against the other Consul Manius Curius, who lay safely intrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting, as well in expectation of the succours from Lucania, as on account of his being deterred from action by the augurs and soothsayers.

Pyrrhus hastening to attack him before he could be joined by his colleague, took the choicest of his troops and the most warlike of his elephants, and pushed forward in the night to surprise his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and bushes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men lost their way. Thus the night escaped. At day-break he was discovered by the enemy descending from the heights, which caused no small disorder in their camp. Manius, however, finding the sacrifices auspicious, and the time pressing, issued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This spread a consternation through their whole army, so that many of them were killed, and some of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the success led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging, therefore, in the open field, one of his wings defeated that of the enemy's; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he called for those troops that were left to guard the camp, who were all fresh men and well armed. These as they descended from their advantageous situation, pierced the elephants with their javelins, and fored them to turn their backs; and those creatures rushing upon their own battalions, threw them into the

* Aulus Cornelius Lentulus.

greatest confusion and disorder. This put the victory in the hands of the Romans, and empire together with the victory. For, by the courage exerted, and the great actions peformed this day, they acquired a loftiness of sentiment, an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which soon gained them all Italy, and Sicily a little after.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had wasted six years in these expeditions. It is true, he was not successful; but amidst all his defeats he preserved his courage unconquerable, and was reputed to excel, in military experience and personal prowess, all the princes of his time. But what he gained by his achievements, he lost by vain hopes; his desire of something absent never suffered him effecutally to persevere in a present pursuit. Hence it was that Antigonus compared him to a gamester, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to make the best of his game.

He returned to Epirus with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; but not having funds to maintain them, he sought for a war which might answer that end. And being joined by a body of Gauls, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned at that time. His design was only to pillage and carry off booty; but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thousand of Antigonus's men he enlarged his views, and marched against the king. Coming up with him in a narrow pass, he put his whole army in disorder. The Gauls however, who composed Antigonus's rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant resistance. The dispute was sharp, but at last most of them were cut in pieces; and they who had the charge of the elephants, being surrounded, delivered up both themselves and the beasts. After so great an advantage, Pyrrhus following his fortune rather than any rational plan, pushed against the Macedonian Phalanx, now struck with terror and confusion at their loss. And perceiving that they refused to engage with him, he stretched out his hand to their commanders and other officers, at the same time calling them all by their names; by which means he drew over the enemy's infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly: he persuaded, however, some of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

Amidst so many instances of success, Pyrrhus, concluding that his exploit against the Gauls was far the most glorious, consecrated the most splendid and valuable of the spoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis, with this inscription:

> These spoils that Pyrrhus on the martial plain
> Snatch'd from the vanquish'd Gaul, Itonian Pallas,
> He consecrates to thee.....If from his throne
> Antigonus deserted fled, and ruin
> Pursued the sword of Pyrrhus....'tis no wonder.....
> From Æacus he sprung.

After the battle he soon recovered the cities. When he had made himself master of Ægæ, among other hardships put upon the inhabitants, he left among them a garrison draughted from those Gauls who served under him. The Gauls of all men are the most covetous of money; and they were no sooner put in possession of the town, than they broke open the tombs of the kings who were buried there, plundered the treasures, and insolently scattered their bones. Pyrrhus passed the matter very slightly over; whether it was that the affairs he had upon his hands, obliged him to put off the inquiry, or whether he was afraid of the Gauls, and did not dare to punish them. The connivance however, was much censured by the Macedonians.

His interest was not well established among them, nor had he any good prospect of its security, when he began to entertain new visionary hopes: and in ridicule of Antigonus, he said, "He wondered at his impudence, in not laying aside the purple, and taking the habit of a private person."

About this time, Cleonymus the Spartan came to entreat him that he would march to Lacedæmon, and he lent a willing ear to his request, Cleonymus was of the blood royal; but as he seemed to be of a violent temper and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor trusted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne. This was an old complaint which he had against the citizens in general. But to this we must add, that when advanced in years he had married a young woman of great beauty, named Chelidonis, who was of the royal family, and daughter to Leotychides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent passion for Acrotatus the son of Areus, who was both young and handsome, rendered the match not only uneasy,

but disgraceful to Cleonymus, who was miserably in love; for there was not a man in Sparta who did not know how much he was despised by his wife. These domestic misfortunes added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus, who marched to Sparta with twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. These great preparations made it evident at one view, that Pyrrhus did not come to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, but Peloponnesus for himself. He made, indeed, very different professions to the Lacedæmonians, who sent an embassy to him at Megalopolis: for he told them that he was only come to set free the cities which were in subjection to Antigonus; and what is more extraordinary, that he fully intended, if nothing happened to hinder it, to send his younger sons to Sparta, for a Lacedæmonian education, that they might, in this respect, have the advantage of all other kings and princes.

With these pretences he amused those that came to meet him on his march; but as soon as he set foot in Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage it. And upon the ambassadors representing that he commenced hostilities without a previous declaration of war, he said, "And do we not know that you Spartans never declare beforehand what measures you are going to take?" to which a Spartan named Mandricidas, who was in company, made answer in this laconic dialect, "If thou art a god, thou wilt do us no harm, because we have done thee none; if thou art a man, perhaps we may find a better man than thee."

In the mean time he moved towards Lacedæmon, and was advised by Cleonymus to give the assault immediately upon his arrival. But Pyrrhus, as we are told, fearing that his soldiers would plunder the city if they took it by night, put him off, and said they would proceed to the assault the next day. For he knew there were but few men within the city, and those unprepared, by reason of his sudden approach; and that Areus the king was absent, being gone to Crete to succour the Gortynians. The contemptible idea which Pyrrhus conceived of its weakness and want of men, was the principal thing that saved the city. For supposing that he should not find the least resistance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and sat quietly down; while the *helots* and friends of Cleonymus busied

themselves in adorning and preparing his house, in expectation that Pyrrhus would sup with him there that evening.

Night being come the Lacedæmonians resolved in the first place, to send off their women to Crete, but they strongly opposed it; and Archidamia entering the senate with a sword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion they entertained of the women, if they imagined they would survive the destruction of Sparta. In the next place, they determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to sink waggons in the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, that so being firmly fixed, they might stop the course of the elephants. As soon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them; the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under garments only, to assist the older sort of men. They advised those that were intended for the fight to repose themselves, and in the mean time they undertook to finish a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning. This trench was in breadth six cubits, in depth four, and eight hundred feet long, according to Phylarchus. Hieronymus makes it less.

At day-break the enemy was in motion, whereupon the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and representing, "How delightful it would be to conquer in the view of their country, or how glorious to expire in the arms of their mothers and their wives, when they had met their deaths as became Spartans." As for Chelidonis, she retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it, rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city was taken.

Pyrrhus now pressed forward with his infantry, against the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of shields. But, besides that the ditch was scarce passable, he found that there was no firm footing on the sides of it for his soldiers, because of the loosness of the fresh earth. His son Ptolemy seeing this, fetched a compass about the trench with two thousand Gauls and a select body of Chaonians, and endeavoured to open a passage on the quarter of the waggons. But these were so deep fixed and close locked, that they not only obstructed their passage, but made it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a

close defence. The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels and draw the waggons into the river, when young Acrotatus perceiving the danger, traversed the city with three hundred men, and by the advantage of some hollow ways surrounded Ptolemy, not being seen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and stand upon the defensive. In the confusion many of his soldiers running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch, or fell under the waggons. At last, after a long dispute and great effusion of blood, they were entirely routed. The old men and the women saw this exploit of Acrotatus: and as he returned through the city to his post, covered with blood, bold and elated with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis such a lover. Nay, some of the old men followed and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta!"

The dispute was more obstinate where Pyrrhus fought in person. Many of the Spartans distinguished themselves in the action, and, among the rest, Phyllius made a glorious stand. He slew numbers that endeavoured to force a passage, and when he found himself ready to faint with the many wounds he had received, he gave up his post to one of the officers that were near him, and retired to die in the midst of his own party, that the enemy might not get his body in their power.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had this dream: he thought he darted lightning upon Lacedæmon,* which set all the city on fire, and that the sight filled him with joy. The transport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to some of his friends he related his vision, from which he assured himself that he should take the city by storm. The thing was received with admiration and a general assent; but it did not please Lysimachus. He said, that, as no foot

* Some instead of αυτος read αετος; and then the English will run thus: *He thought that an* eagle *darted lightning*, &c. But if that reading be preferred, because the eagle bore Jupiter's thunder, and Pyrrhus had the name of *eagle*, it ought to take place in the last member of the sentence too, and that should be rendered, *the eagle rejoiced at the sight.*

is to tread on places that are struck by lightning, so the Deity by this might presignify to Pyrrhus, that the city should remain inaccessible to him. Pyrrhus answered: "These visions may serve as amusements for the vulgar, but there is not any thing in the world more uncertain and obscure. While, then, you have your weapons in your hands, remember, my friends,

"The best of omens is the cause of Pyrrhus.*"

So saying, he arose, and, as soon as it was light, renewed the attack. The Lacedæmonians stood upon their defence with an alacrity and spirit above their strength: and the women attended, supplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to such as wanted it, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, redoubled their efforts against them. But all on a sudden Pyrrhus appeared on their side of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to stop the passage, advancing at full speed towards the city The soldiers who had the charge of that post cried out, and the women fled with loud shrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was pushing on, and overthrowing all that opposed him. But his horse received a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and, plunging in the pains of death, threw him upon steep and slippery ground. As his friends pressed towards him in great confusion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good use of their arrows, drove them all back. Hereupon Pyrrhus put an entire stop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate of their vigour, now they were almost all wounded, and such great numbers killed. But the fortune of Sparta, whether she was satisfied with the trial she had of the unassisted valour of her sons, or whether she was willing to show her power to retrieve the most desperate circumstances, just as the hopes of the Spartans were beginning to expire, brought to their relief from Corinth Aminius the Phocean, one of Antigonus's officers, with an army of strangers; and they had no sooner entered the town, but Areus their king arrived from Crete with two

* Parody of a line in Hector's speech, Il. xii.

thousand men more. The women now retired immediately to their houses, thinking it needless to concern themselves any farther in the war: the old men too, who, notwithstanding their age, had been forced to bear arms, were dismissed, and the new supplies put in their place.

These two reinforcements to Sparta served only to animate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing, after a series of losses and ill success he quitted the siege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to pass the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There happened at that time a strong contention at Argos, between the parties of Aristeas and Aristippus; and as Aristippus appeared to have a connection with Antigonus, Aristeas, to prevent him, called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus whose hopes grew as fast as they were cut off, who, if he met with success, only considered it as a step to greater things, and if with disappointment, endeavoured to compensate it by some new advantage, would neither let his victories nor losses put a period to his disturbing both the world and himself. He began his march therefore immediately for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambushes, and by possessing himself of the difficult passes, cut off many of the Gauls and Molossians who brought up his rear. In the sacrifice which Pyrrhus had offered, the liver was found without a head, and the diviner had thence forewarned him, that he was in danger of losing some person that was dear to him. But in the hurry and disorder of this unexpected attack, he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his son Ptolemy with some of his guards to the assistance of the rear, whilst he himself pushed on, and disengaged his main body from those dangerous passages. In the mean time Ptolemy met with a very warm reception; for he was engaged by a select party of Lacedæmonians, under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of action, a Cretan of Aptera, named Orœsus, a man of remarkable strength and swiftness, came up with the young prince, as he was fighting with great gallantry, and with a blow on the side laid him dead upon the spot. As soon as he fell, his party turned their backs and fled. The Lacedæmonians pursued them, and in the ardour of victory, insensibly advancing into the open plain, got at a great distance from their infantry, Pyrrhus, who, by this time had heard of the death of his son, and was

greatly afflicted at it, drew out his Molossian horse, and charging at the head of them, satiated himself with the blood of the Lacedæmonians. He always indeed appeared great and invincible in arms, but now in point of courage and force, he out did all his former exploits. Having found out Evalcus, he spurred his horse against him; but Evalcus inclining a little on one side, aimed a stroke at him which had like to have cut off his bridle hand. It happened, however, only to cut the reins, and Pyrrhus seizing the favourable moment, ran him through with his spear. Then springing from his horse, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of those brave Lacedæmonians who endeavoured to protect the body of Evalcus. The great loss which Sparta suffered was now owing purely to the ill timed ambition of her leaders; for the war was at an end before the engagement.

Pyrrhus having thus sacrificed to the manes of his son, and celebrated a kind of funeral games for him, found that he had vented much of his grief in the fury of the combat and marched more composed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he sent a herald to Antigonus, with a challenge in abusive terms to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus said, "Time is the weapon that I use, as much as the sword: and if Pyrrhus is weary of his life, there are many ways to end it." To both the kings there came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to retire, and so prevent that city from being subjected to either, which had a friendship for them both. Antigonus agreed to the overture, and sent his son to the Argives as an hostage. Pyrrhus at the same time promised to retire, but sending no hostage, he was much suspected.

Amidst these transactions, Pyrrhus was alarmed with a great and tremendous prodigy. For the heads of the sacrifice-oxen, when severed from the bodies, were seen to thrust out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in Argos the priestess of Apollo Lyceus ran about the streets, crying out that she saw the city full of dead carcases and blood, and an eagle joining in the fight, and then immediately vanishing.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called *Diampieres* opened to him by Aristeas,

he was not discovered till his Gauls had entered and seized the market place. But the gate not being high enough to receive the elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterwards put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noise and loss of time, by which means they were discovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called *Aspis*,* and other places of defence, and sent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced towards the walls, to watch his opportunity for action, and contented himself with sending in some of his principal officers and his son with considerable succours.

At the same time Areus arrived in the town with a thousand Cretans and the most active of his Spartans. All these troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them in great disorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called *Cylarabis*,† with great noise and loud shouts, which were echoed by the Gauls: but he thought their shouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expressive of terror and distress. He therefore advanced in great haste, pushing forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger by reason of the drains and sewers of which the city was full. Besides, in this nocturnal war, it was impossible either to see what was done, or to hear the orders that were given. The soldiers were scattered about, and lost their way among the narrow streets; nor could the officers rally them in that darkness, amidst such a variety of noises, and in such strait passages; so that both sides continued without doing any thing, and waited for day-light.

At the first dawn Pyrrhus was concerned to see the Aspis full of armed men; but his concern was changed into consternation, when among the many figures in the mar-

* There was an annual feast at Argos, in honour of Juno, called Ἡραῖα *Junonia*, and also *Hecatombia*, from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, this prize was proposed for the youth. In a place of considerable strength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall, and they were to try their strength in plucking it off. The victor was crowned with a myrtle garland, and had the buckler [in Greek *Aspis*] for his pains. Hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but strangers, were admitted to the contest; as appears from Pindar. For speaking of Diagoras of Rhodes, he says,

"The Argive buckler knew him" *Olymp.* ode 7.

† Cylarabis was a place of exercise near one of the gates of Argos. *Pausan.*

ket-place, he beheld a wolf and a bull in brass represented in the act to fight. For he recollected an old oracle which had foretold, "That it was his destiny to die when he should see a wolf encountering a bull." The Argives say, these figures were erected in memory of an accident which happened among them long before. They tell us, that when Danaus first entered their country, as he passed through the district of Thyreatis, by the way of Pyramia which leads to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Danaus imagined that the wolf represented him, for, being a stranger, he came to attack the natives, as the wolf did the bull. He therefore stayed to see the issue of the fight, and the wolf proving victorious, he offered his devotions to Apollo Lyceus, and then assaulted and took the town; Gelanor, who was then king, being deposed by a faction. Such is the history of those figures.

Pyrrhus quite dispirited at the sight, and perceiving at the same time that nothing succeeded according to his hopes, thought it best to retreat. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, who was left with the main body without the town, to demolish part of the wall, and assist in the retreat, if the enemy tried to obstruct it. But the person whom he sent, mistaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it quite in a contrary sense, the young prince entered the gates with the rest of the elephants and the best of his troops, and marched to assist his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring; and while the market-place afforded room both to retreat and fight, he often faced about and repulsed the assailants. But when from that broad place he came to crowd into the narrow street leading to the gate, he fell in with those who were advancing to his assistance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back: there were but few that could hear him; and such as did hear, and were most disposed to obey his orders, were pushed back by those who came pouring in behind. Besides, the largest of the elephants was fallen in the gate-way on his side, and lying there and braying in a horrible manner, he stopped those who would have got out. And among the elephants already in the town, one named Nicon, striving to take up his master who was fallen off wounded, rushed against the party that was retreating; and overturned both friends and enemies promiscuously, till he found the body. Then he took it up with his trunk,

and carrying it on his two teeth, returned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus pressed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing singly but the whole multitude, like one close compacted body, rolled this way and that all together. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy either in front or rear, and the greatest harm they did was to themselves. For if any man drew his sword or levelled his pike, he could not recover the one or put up the other; the next person, therefore, whoever he happened to be, was necessarily wounded, and thus many of them fell by the hands of each other.

Pyrrhus, seeing the tempest rolling about him, took off the plume with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his friends. Then trusting to the goodness of his horse, he rode in amongst the enemy who were harassing his rear; and it happened that he was wounded through the breast-plate with a javelin. The wound was rather slight than dangerous, but he turned against the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the son of a poor old woman. This woman, among others, looking upon the fight from the roof of a house, beheld her son thus engaged. Seized with terror at the sight she took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and notwithstanding his helmet, crushed the lower *vertebræ* of his neck. Darkness, in a moment, covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horse by the tomb of Licymnius.* The

* There is something strikingly contemptible in the fate of this ferocious warrior.—What reflections may it not afford to those scourges of mankind, who, to extend their power and gratify their pride, tear out the vitals of human society!—How unfortunate that they do not recollect their own personal insignificance, and consider, while they are disturbing the peace of the earth, that they are beings whom an old woman may kill with a stone!—It is impossible here to forget the obscure fate of Charles the Twelfth, or the following verses that describe it:

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.

crowd that was about him, did not know him, but one Zopyrus who served under Antigonus, and two or three others coming up, knew him, and dragged him into a porch that was at hand, just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him so fierce a look, that he was struck with terror. His hands trembled, and between his desire to give the stroke, and the confusion he was in, he missed his neck, but wounded him in the mouth and chin, so that it was a long time before he could separate the head from the body.

By this time the thing was generally known, and Alcyoneus, the son of Antigonus, came hastily up, and asked for the head, as if he wanted only to look upon it. But as soon as he had got it he rode off with it to his father, and cast it at his feet as he was sitting with his friends. Antigonus looking upon the head, and knowing it, thrust his son from him: and struck him with his staff, calling him an impious and barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather

Behold surrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate and one resign.
Peace courts his hands, but spreads her charms in vain;
"Think nothing gain'd," he cry'd, "till nought remain,
On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky."
The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait.
Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
And winter barricades the realm of frost;
He comes—not want and cold his course delay——
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day!
The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands.
Condemn'd a needy suppliant to wait,
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

Johnson.

Antigonus,* and that of his father Demetrius, two instances in his own house of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire on the funeral pile and burnt. After this, Alcyoneus having met with Helenus in great distress and a mean garb, addressed him in a courteous manner, and conducted him to his father, who thus expressed himself on the occassion: "In this, my son, you have acted much better than before; but still you are deficient; for you should have taken off that mean habit, which is a greater disgrace to us who are victorious, than it is to the vanquished."

Then he paid his respects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and sent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave also the same kind reception to the friends of Pyrrhus, after he had made himself master of his whole camp and army.

CAIUS MARIUS.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius, any more than we do of Quinctus Sertorius who held Spain so long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the surname of *Achaicus*, Mummius gained by his conquest, as Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*.....Posidonius avails himself chiefly of this argument to confute those who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for instance, Marcellus, Cato: for in that case, those who had only two names, would have had no proper name at all. But he did not consider that by this reasoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the first, which Posidonius supposed the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Cornelii, in the same manner as with us, the Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ; and the other was a surname given them from something remarkable in their dispositions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus and Callinicus,

* Antigonus the First was killed at the battle of Ipsus, and Demetrius the First long kept a prisoner by his son-in-law Selucus.

among the Greeks. But the diversity of customs, in this respect, leaves much room for farther inquiry.*

As to the figure of Marius, we have seen at Ravenna in Gaul, his statue in marble, which perfectly expressed all that has been said of his sternness and austerity of behaviour. For being naturally robust and warlike, and more acquainted with the discipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is said that he neither learnt to read Greek, nor would make use of that language on any serious occasion, thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then rose up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato used to say to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had a morose and unpolished manner, "Good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces;" so if any one could have persuaded Marius to pay his court to the Grecian Muses and Graces, he had never brought his noble achievements, both

* The Romans had usually three names, the *Prænomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as Aulus, Caius, Decimus, was the proper or distinguishing name between brothers, during the time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name, answering to the Grecian patronymics. For, as among the Greeks, the posterity of Æacus were called Æacidæ, so the Julian family had that name from Iulus or Ascanius. But there were several other things which gave rise to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents; for instance, Porcius, Ovilius, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to distinguish the several branches of a family. It was assumed from no certain cause, but generally from some particular occurrence. It became, however, hereditary, except it happened to be changed for a more honourable appellation, as Macedonicus, Africanus. But it should be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often used as a proper name, and brothers were distinguished by it, as Titus Flavius Vespasianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus.

As to the women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, such as Caia, Lucia, &c. But afterwards they seldom used any other beside the family name, as Julia, Tullia, and the like. Where there were two sisters in a house, the distinguishing appellations were major and minor: if a greater number, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c.

With respect to the men who had only two names, a family might be so mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen*, or there might be so few of the family, that there was no occasion for it to distinguish the branches.

in war and peace, to so shocking a conclusion; he had never been led by unseasonable ambition and insatiable avarice to split upon the rocks of a savage and cruel old age. But this will soon appear from his actions themselves.

His parents were obscure and indigent people, who supported themselves by labour; his father's name was the same with his; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taste of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he lived at Cirræatum,* a village in the territory of Arpinum: and his manner of living there was perfectly rustic, if compared with the elegance of polished life; but at the same time it was temperate, and much resembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his first campaign against the Celtiberians,† when Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia. It did not escape his general how far he was above the other young soldiers in courage; nor how easily he came into the reformation in point of diet, which Scipio introduced into the army, before almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is said also, that he encountered and killed an enemy in the sight of his general; who therefore distinguished him with many marks of honour and respect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the conversation happening to turn upon the great commanders then in being, some person in the company, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he really wanted to be informed, asked, "Where the Romans should find such another general when he was gone?" upon which Scipio putting his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sat next him, said, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both those great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from those beginnings could discover the long series of glory which was to follow.

This saying of Scipio's, we are told, raised the hopes of Marius, like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing that

* A corruption of *Cernetum*. Pliny tells us, the inhabitants of Cernetum were called *Mariani*, undoubtedly from Marius their townsman, who had distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner. *Plin.* lib. iii. c. 5.

† In the third year of the hundred and sixty-first Olympiad, one hundred and thirty-three years before the birth of Christ.

animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had an hereditary dependence, he was chosen a tribune of the people.* In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul, therefore persuaded the senate to reject it, and to cite Marius to give account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the senate, showed not the embarrassment of a young man advanced to office, without having first distinguished himself, but assuming beforehand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to send Cotta to prison, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up, and voted with the consul.....Hereupon Marius called in a lictor, and ordered him to take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but as not one of them lent him any assistance, the senate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius, highly distinguished by this victory, went immediately from the senate to the *forum*, and had his law confirmed by the people.

From this time he passed for a man of inflexible resolution, not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the senate. But this opinion was soon altered by his taking quite a different part..... For a law being proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them. By which action he gained equal esteem from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of *ædiles*; the one called *curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he dispatches business; the other of a degree much inferior, is called the *plebeian ædile*. The more honourable ædile is first chosen, and then the people proceed the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions there, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his be-

* One hundred and seventeen years before Christ.

trayed a disagreeable and importunate obstinacy, he miscarried in that also. Yet though he was twice baffled in his application in one day (which never happened to any man but himself), he was not at all discouraged. For, not long after, he stood for the prætorship, and was near being rejected again. He was, indeed, returned last of all, and then was accused of bribery. What contributed most to the suspicion, was, a servant of Cassius Sabaco being seen within the rails, among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He was summoned, therefore, by the judges; and, being interrogated upon the point, he said, "That the heat having made him very thirsty, he asked for cold water; upon which his servant brought him a cup, and withdrew as soon as he had drank." Sabaco was expelled the senate by the next censors,* and it was thought he deserved that mark of infamy, as having been guilty either of falsehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was also cited as a witness against Marius; but he alleged, that it was not customary for patrons (so the Romans call protectors) to give evidence against their clients, and that the law excused them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himself opposed it, and told Herennius, that when he was first created a magistrate, he ceased to be his client. But this was not altogether true. For it is not every office that frees clients and their posterity from the service due to their patrons, but only those magistracies to which the law gave a *curule* chair. Marius, however, during the first days of trial, found that matters ran against him, his judges being very unfavourable; yet at last the votes proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his prætorship he did nothing to raise him to distinction. But, at the expiration of this office, the Farther Spain falling to his lot, he is said to have cleared it of robbers. That province as yet was uncivilized and savage in its manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing dishonourable in robbery. At his return to Rome, he was desirous to have his share in the administration, but had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him; though these were the instruments by which the great men of those times governed the people. His high spirit, however, his

* Probably he had one of his slaves to vote among the freemen.

indefatigable industry, and plain manner of living, recommended him so effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power: so that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Cæsars, and married Julia of that illustrious family. Cæsar, who afterwards raised himself to such eminence, was her nephew, and, on account of his relation to Marius, showed himself very solicitous for his honour, as we have related in his life.

Marius, along with his temperance, was possesed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in surgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himself in the hands of a surgeon. He would not be bound, but stretched out one of his legs to the knife; and without motion or groan, bore the inexpressible pain of the operation in silence, and with a settled countenance. But when the surgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not suffer him, saying, "I see the cure is not worth the pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus the consul,* being appointed to the chief command in the war against Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his colleagues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his service: but concluding, that he was called to the lieutenancy, not by Metellus, but by Fortune, who had opened him an easy way, and a noble theatre for great achievements, exerted all his powers. That war presenting many critical occasions, he neither declined the most difficult service, nor thought the most servile beneath him. Thus surpassing his equals in prudence and foresight, and contesting it with the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For it is no small consolation to any one who is obliged to work, to see another voluntarily take a share in his labour; since it seems to take off the constraint. There is not, indeed, a more agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than that of

* Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul with M. Junius Silanus, the fourth year of the one hundred and sixty-seventh Olympiad, a hundred and seven years before the birth of Christ. In this expedition he acquired the surname of Numidicus.

his general eating the same dry bread * which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or assisting his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark. For the soldier does not so much admire those officers who let him share in their honours or their money, as those who will partake with him in labour and danger; and he is more attached to one that will assist him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.

By these steps Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers: his glory, his influence, his reputation, spread through Africa, and extended even to Rome; the men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war in those parts, would be to elect Marius consul. This occasioned no small anxiety to Metellus, but what distressed him most was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of master of the artificers †, but being, through his interest, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, gave them an opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha ‡. Turpilius, however, suffered no injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account he was accused of betray-

* Εν οψει which the English translator renders *publicly*, and the French *a la vue de tout le monde*, is never to be met with in any good Greek author in that sense. Indeed, the text plainly appears to be corrupted; for the word θεαμα, *spectacle*, just before, entirely precludes the expression εν οψει, *in sight*. Bryan saw the corruption and has proposed to read ανευ οψου, *without meat or sauce*; but we should rather choose to read ανοψον, because the literal alteration will be the less. It certainly must be matter of great joy to the common soldier to see his general eat the same dry bread with him. Dacier, too, saw the corruption, and proposed to read εν οξει. *bread dipped in vinegar*. Here is, indeed, the change of one letter only; but the sense does not seem to be so strong. The learned reader will choose which emendation he pleases.

† The common reading is την ετι των Γευτονων ε ζων αρχην.....It is obvious that Γευτονων is a corruption of τεκτονων. An officer is meant like our comptroller of the board of works. Among Gruter's inscriptions several persons have the title of *Præfectus Fabrorum*.

‡ They put the Roman garrison to the sword, sparing none but Turpilius.

ing the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only severe upon him himself, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and much against his will he passed sentence of death upon him. A little after, the accusation appeared a false one; and all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared the thing was his doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family."

They now became open enemies; and one day when Marius was by, we are told that Metellus said by way of insult, "You think then, my good friend, to leave us, and go home to solicit the consulship; would you not be contented to stay and be consul with this son of mine?" The son of Metellus was then very young. Notwithstanding this, Marius still kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At last when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he dismissed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he dispatched it in two days and a night. At his arrival on the coast, he offered sacrifice before he embarked; and the diviner is said to have told him, "That heaven announced success superior to all his hopes." Elevated with this promise, he set sail, and, having a fair wind, crossed the sea in four days. The people immediately expressed their inclination for him; and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many false charges against Metellus, in order to secure the consulship for himself; promising at the same time either to kill Jugurtha or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applause, and immediately began his levies; in which he observed neither law nor custom; for he enlisted many needy persons, and even slaves.* The generals that were before him, had not admitted such as these, but intrusted only persons of property with arms as with other honours, considering that property

* Florus does not say he enlisted slaves, but *capite censos*, such as having no estates, had only their names entered in the registers.

as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Nor was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold speeches, accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great uneasiness. For he scrupled not to say, "That he had taken the consulate as a prey from the effeminacy of the high-born and the rich, and that he boasted to the people of his own wounds, not the images of others or monuments of the dead." He took frequent occasion, too, to mention Bestia and Albinus, generals who had been mostly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illustrious families but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful through want of capacity. Then he would ask the people, "Whether they did not think that the ancestors of those men would have wished rather to leave a posterity like him: since they themselves did not rise to glory by their high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." These things he said not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility; but he saw the people took pleasure in seeing the senate insulted, and that they measured the greatness of a man's mind by the insolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them he spared not the greatest men in the state.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and resentment,* to think that when he had in a manner finished the war, and there remained nothing to take but the person of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raised himself merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, should come to snatch away both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the sight of him, he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius. But before the end of the war the divine vengeance overtook Marius: for Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus. I shall briefly relate here the manner of that transaction, having already given a more particular account of it in the life of Sylla.

Bocchus king of the Upper Numidia,† was father-in-law to Jugurtha. He gave him, however, very little assistance

* The word φθονος does not always signify *envy*. In Philo (*De Murdo*) we find φθονος ουδις διδασκειν, *docere non gravabimur*. Envy should not be attributed to such a noble mind as that of Metellus.

† Or Mauritania. In the original it is ὁ των ανω βαρβαρων βασιλευς, *king of the barbarians who dwelt higher up in the country*.

in the war, pretending that he detested his perfidiousness, while he really dreaded the increase of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the necessity of applying to Bocchus as his last resource, that prince received him rather as his suppliant, than as his son-in-law. When he had him in his hands, he proceeded in public to intercede with Marius in his behalf, alledging in his letters, that he would never give him up, but defend him to the last. At the same time in private intending to betray him, he sent for Lucius Sylla. who was quæstor to Marius, and had done Bocchus many services during the war. When Sylla was come to him, confiding in his honour, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for some days whether he should deliver up Jugurtha or retain Sylla too. At last adhering to the treachery he had first conceived, he put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the first seeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almost ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this success to Sylla only; and Sylla himself caused a seal to be made, which represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This seal he always wore, and constantly sealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was instigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who ascribed the beginning and the most considerable actions of the war to Metellus, and the last and finishing stroke to Sylla: that so the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the most accomplished of commanders.

The danger, however that approached Italy from the west, soon dispersed all the envy, the hatred, and the calumnies, which had been raised against Marius. The people now in want of an experienced commander, and searching for an able pilot to sit at the helm, that the commonwealth might bear up against so dreadful a storm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would stand for the consulship: and therefore they elected Marius,* though absent. They had no sooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from

* One hundred and two years before Christ.

the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible it afterwards appeared short of the truth. For three hundred thousand well armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they had along with them were said to be much more numerous. This vast multitude wanted lands on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to settle ; as they had heard the Celtæ, before them, had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy.* As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were,† or whence they came, on account of the small commerce which they had with the rest of the world, and the length of way they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeness of their stature, and the blueness of their eyes, as well as because the Germans call banditti *Cimbri*, that they were some of those German nations who dwell by the Northern Sea.

Some assert that the country of the Celtæ is of such vast extent, that it stretches from the Western Ocean and most nothern climates, to the lake Mæotis eastward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus : that there the two nations mingle, and thence issue ; not all at once, nor at all seasons, but in the spring of every year : that by means of these annual supplies, they had gradually opened themselves a way over the greatest part of the European continent ; and that, though they are distinguished by different names according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general name of Celto-Scythæ.

Others say, they were a small part of the Cimmerians, well known to the ancient Greeks ; and that this small part quitting their native soil, or being expelled by the

* In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

† The Cimbri were descended from the ancient Gomerians or Celtes ; Cimri or Cymbri being only a harsher pronunciation of Gomerai. They were in all probability the ancientest people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbrica Chersonesus, which was a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into the north sea. They were all supposed the same with the Cimmerians that inhabited the countries about the Paulus Mæotis ; which is highly probable, both from the likeness of their names, and from the descendants of Gomer having spread themselves over all that northern track.

Scythians on account of some sedition, passed from the Paulus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief. But that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in extremities of the earth near the Northern Sea. These inhabit a country so dark and woody, that the sun is seldom seen, by reason of the many high and spreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian forest. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is such, that by reason of the declination of the parallels, it makes almost a verticle point to the inhabitants; and their day and night are of such a length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts; which gave occasion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions.

Hence therefore these barbarians, who came into Italy, first issued; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri, and the appellation was not at all from their manners. But these things rest rather on conjecture, than historical certainty. Most historians, however, agree, that their numbers, instead of being less, were rather greater than we have related. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity; all that came in their way, were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many respectable armies and generals* employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul, were shamefully routed; and the feeble resistance they made to the first efforts of the barbarians, was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For, having beaten all they met, and loaded themselves with plunder, they determined to settle no where, till they had destroyed Rome, and laid waste all Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, called Marius to the command, and elected him a second time consul. It was, indeed, unconstitutional for any one to be chosen who was absent, or who had not waited the regular time between a first and second consulship; but the people overruled all that was said against him. They considered, that this was not the first instance, in which the law had given way to the public utility; nor was the present occasion less urgent than that, when contrary to

* Cassius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Cæpio, and Cn. Malleius.

law,* they made Scipio consul; for then they were not anxious for the safety of their own city, but only desirous of destroying Carthage. These reasons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon his consulship on the first of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the same day. Jugurtha now a captive, was a spectacle as agreeable to the Romans, as it was beyond their expectation; no one having ever imagined that the war could be brought to a period while he was alive: so various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himself to all sorts of fortune, and through all his subtlety their ran a vein of courage and spirit It is said, that when he was led before the car of the conquerer, he lost his senses. After the triumph, he was thrown into prison, where, whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dugeon, all wild and confused, he said with a frantic smile,† "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There struggling for six days with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came to such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph three thousand and seven pounds of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion, and of silver coin seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas.

After the solemnity was over, Marius assembled the senate in the Capitol, where either through inadvertency or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robe: but soon perceiving that the senate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he set out with the army, he trained his soldiers to labour while upon the road, accustoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his victuals. So that afterwards laborious people who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they were ordered, were called

* Scipio was elected consul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was forty-two. Indeed, the people dispensed with it in other instances besides this.

† The former English translation takes no notice of διασεσηχως, *smiling*, though an important expression.

Marius's mules. Some indeed, give another reason for this proverbial saying. They say, that when Scipio besieged Numantia, he chose to inspect not only the arms and horses, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readiness and good order; on which occasion Marius brought forth his horse in fine condition, and his mule too in better case, and stronger and gentler than those of others. The general much pleased with Marius's beasts, often made mention of them; and hence those who by way of raillery praised a drudging patient man, called him Marius's mule.

On this occasion, it was a very fortunate circumstance for Marius, that the barbarians, turning their course like a reflux of the tide, first invaded Spain. For this gave him time to strengthen his men by exercise, and to raise and confirm their courage; and, what was still of greater importance, to show them what he himself was. His severe behaviour and inflexibility in punishing, when it had once accustomed them to mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both just and salutary. When they were a little used to his hot and violent spirit, to the harsh tone of his voice, and the fierceness of his countenance, they no longer considered him as terrible to themselves but to the enemy. Above all, the soldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third consulate. Besides, the barbarians were expected in the spring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any other general. They did not, however, come so soon as they were looked for, and the year expired without his getting a sight of them. The time of a new election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himself to Rome. Several persons of great merit stood for the consulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his speeches exhorted them to choose him consul. Marius, for his part, desired to be excused, pretending that he did not want the office: whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deserted the command in such time of danger. It was not difficult to perceive that Marius dissembled, and that the tribune acted a bungling part under him; yet the people considering that the present juncture required both his capacity and good fortune, created

him consul a fourth time, and appointed Lutatius Catulus his colleague, a man much esteemed by the patricians, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius being informed of the enemy's approach, passed the Alps with the utmost expedition; and having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it and brought into it a large supply of provisions; that the want of necessaries might never compel him to fight at a disadvantage. But as the carriage of provisions by sea was tedious and very expensive, he found a way to make it easy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choked up with mud and sand, which the beating of the sea had lodged there; so that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for vessels of burden to enter it. Marius therefore, set his army, now quite at leisure, to work there; and having caused a cut to be made capable of receiving large ships, he turned great part of the river into it; thus drawing it to a coast, where the opening to the sea is easy and secure. This cut still retains his name.

The barbarians dividing themselves into two bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum against Catulus, and to force that pass; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria along the sea-coast, in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri spent some time in preparing for their march: but the Teutones and Ambrones set out immediately, and pushed forward with great expedition; so that they soon traversed the intermediate country, and presented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, and in their voice and shouts of war different from all other men. They spread themselves over a vast extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The consul, for his part, regarded them not, but kept his soldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and rashness of those who wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, "Their ambition should not now be for triumphs and trophies, but to dispel the dreadful storm that hung over them, and to save Italy from destruction." These things he said privately to his chief officers and men of the first rank. As for the common soldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accustom them to bear

the dreadful look of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of using them. By these means what at first was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded that with regard to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumstances, and that things really dreadful lose their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily sight of the barbarians not only lessened the fears of the soldiers, but the menacing behaviour and intolerable vanity of the enemy provoked their resentment, and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greatest insolence and contempt.

Marius at last was told, that the soldiers vented their grief in such complaints as these: "What effeminacy has Marius discovered in us, that he thus keeps us locked up, like so many women, and restrains us from fighting? Come on; let us with the spirit of freemen, ask him, if he waits for others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and intends to make use of us only as the vilest labourers, in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of dirt, and turning the course of rivers? It is for such noble works as these, no doubt, that he exercises us in such painful labours; and, when they are done he will return, and show his fellow-citizens the glorious fruits of the continuation of his power. It is true, Carbo and Cæpio were beaten by the enemy: but does their ill success terrify him? surely Carbo and Cæpio were generals as much inferior to Marius in valour and renown, as we are superior to the army they led. Better it were to be in action, though we suffered from it like them, than to sit still and see the destruction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with these speeches, talked to them in a soothing way. He told them, "It was not from any distrust of them, that he sat still, but that, by order of certain oracles, he waited both for the time and place which were to insure him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great respect and solemnity, and the sacrifices he offered were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the senate in this character, and made an offer of

predicting for them future events, but they refused to hear her. Then she betook herself to the women, and gave them a specimen of her art. She addressed herself particularly to the wife of Marius, at whose feet she happened to sit, when there was a combat of gladiators, and, fortunately enough, told her which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife sent her to her husband, who received her with the utmost veneration, and provided for her the litter in which she was generally carried. When she went to sacrifice, she wore a purple robe, lined with the same, and buttoned up, and held in her hand a spear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they saw this pompous scene, many doubted whether Marius was really persuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be so, and acted a part, while he showed the woman in this form.

But what Alexander of Myndos relates concerning the vultures, really deserves admiration. Two of them, it seems, always appeared, and followed the army, before any great success, being well known by their brazen collars. The soldiers, when they took them, had put these collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner saluted the soldiers: and the soldiers, whenever these appeared upon their march, rejoiced in the assurance of performing something extraordinary.

About this time, there happened many prodigies, most of them of the usual kind. But news was brought from Ameria and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night there were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire, now waiving about, and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and that one party giving way, and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west. Much about this time too, there arrived from Pessinus, Batabaces, priest of the mother of the gods, with an account that the goddess had declared from her sanctuary, "That the Romans would soon obtain a great and glorious victory." The senate had given credit to his report, and decreed the goddess a temple on account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out to make the same declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius one of the tribunes, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the *rostrum*. What followed indeed was the thing which contributed most to the credit of the prediction: For Aulus

had scarce dissolved the assembly, and reached his own house, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact universally known.

Marius still keeping close, the Teutones attempted to force his intrenchments; but being received with a shower of darts from the camp, by which they lost a number of men, they resolved to march forward, concluding that they might pass the Alps in full security. They packed up their baggage, therefore, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was that the immensity of their numbers appeared in the clearest light, from the length of their train, and the time they took up in passing: for it is said, that though they moved on without intermission, they were six days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and asked the Romans by way of insult, "Whether they had any commands to their wives, for they should be shortly with them?" As soon as the barbarians had all passed by, and were in full march, Marius likewise decamped, and followed: always taking care to keep near them, and choosing strong places at some small distance for his camp, which he also fortified, in order that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they moved on till they came to Aquæ Sextiæ, from whence there is but a short march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of strength, but afforded little water. By this circumstance, they tell us, he wanted to excite the soldiers to action: and when many of them complained of thirst, he pointed to a river which ran close by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That thence they must purchase water with their blood." "Why then," said they, do you not lead us thither immediately, before our blood is quite parched up?" To which he answered in a softer tone, "I will lead you thither, but first let us fortify our camp."

The soldiers obeyed, though with some reluctance. But the servants of the army being in great want of water both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crouds to the stream, some with pick-axes, some with hatchets, and others with swords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These at first were encountered by a small party of the enemy, when some having bathed,

were engaged at dinner, and others were still bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themselves in those delicious baths, and charmed with the sweetness of the place. The cry of these brought others to their assistance, so that it was now difficult for Marius to restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the Ambrones, to the number of thirty thousand, who were the best troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out and stood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themselves with eating, yet the wine they had drank had given them fresh spirits; and they advanced not in a wild and disorderly manner, or with a confused and inarticulate noise; but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came on, crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the first of the Italians that moved against them; and when they heard the enemy cry Ambrones, they echoed back the word, which was indeed their own ancient name. Thus the shout was often returned from one army to the other before they charged, and the officers on both sides joining in it, and striving which should pronounce the word loudest, added by this means to the courage and impetuosity of their troops.

The Ambrones were obliged to pass the river, and this broke their order; so that before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremost of them, and thus began the battle. The Romans came to support the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, pressed the enemy so hard, that they soon put them in disorder. Many of them jostling each other on the banks of the river, were slain there, and the river itself was filled with dead bodies. Those who were got safe over not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and carriages. There the women meeting them with swords and axes, and setting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives, as well as the pursuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman shields, catched at their swords with their naked hands, and obstinately

suffered themselves to be hacked in pieces. Thus the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the river, rather by accident, than any design of the general.

The Romans, after having destroyed so many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of victory, as might have been expected upon such success. There were no entertainments, no mirth in the tents, nor, what is the most agreeable circumstance to the soldier after victory, any sound and refreshing sleep. The night was passed in the greatest dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the barbarians unconquered; and such of the Ambrones as escaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts. As this proceeded from such an innumerable host, the neighbouring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the sound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was filled with astonishment at the apprehensions of a tumultuous night engagement. However, the barbarians did not attack them, either that night or next day, but spent the time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage.

In the mean time Marius observing the sloping hills and woody hollows, that hung over the enemy's camp, dispatched Claudius Marcellus with three thousand men, to lie in ambush there till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The rest of his troops he ordered to sup and go to rest in good time. Next morning, as soon as it was light, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones seeing this, could not contain themselves, nor stay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming hastily through thirst of vengeance, advanced up to the hill. Marius dispatched his officers through the whole army, with orders that they should stand still and wait for the enemy. When the barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then come to sword in hand, and pressing upon them with their shields, push them with all their force. For he knew the place was so slippery, that the enemy's blows could have no great

weight, nor could they preserve any close order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poise. At the same time that he gave these directions, he was the first that set the example. For he was inferior to none in personal agility, and in resolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans by their firmness and united charge kept the barbarians from ascending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremost battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmost confusion discovered itself in the rear. For Marcellus, who had watched his opportunity, as soon as he found, by the noise which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle was begun, with great impetuosity and loud shouts fell upon the enemy's rear and destroyed a considerable number of them. The hindmost being pushed upon those before, the whole army was soon put in disorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not stand the double shock, but forsook their ranks, and fled.* The Romans pursuing, either killed or took prisoners above an hundred thousand, and having made themselves masters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered a present to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompence, yet it was thought very inadequate to the generalship he had shown in that great and imminent danger.†

Other historians give a different account, both of the disposition of the spoils, and the number of the slain. From these writers we learn, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the winter following, soaking in the moisture of the putrefied bodies, the ground was so enriched by it, that it produced the next season a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood.* It is observed indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles; whether it be, that some deity chooses to wash and purify the

* This victory was gained the second year of the hundred and sixty-ninth Olympiad, before Christ one hundred.

† And yet there does not appear any thing very extraordinary in the generalship of Marius on this occasion. The ignorance and rashness of the barbarians did every thing in his favour. The Teutones lost the battle, as Hawley lost it at Falkirk, by attempting the hills.

earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the smallest cause.

After the battle, Marius selected from among the arms and other spoils, such as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the greatest show in his triumph. The rest he piled together, and offered them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel: and himself arrayed in his purple robe,* and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted torch. He had just lifted it up with both hands towards heaven, and was going to set fire to the pile, when some friends were seen galloping towards him. Great silence and expectation followed. When they were come near, they leaped from their horses, and saluted Marius consul the fifth time, delivering him letters to the same purpose. This added great joy to the solemnity, which the soldiers expressed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and while the officers were presenting Marius with new crowns of laurel, he set fire to the pile, and finished the sacrifice.

But whatever it is that will not permit us to enjoy any great prosperity pure and unmixed, but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil: whether it be fortune, or some chastising deity, or necessity and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful solemnity, the sad news was brought to Marius of what had befallen his colleague Catulus. An event, which, like a cloud in the midst of a calm, brought fresh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempest. Catulus, who had the Cimbri to oppose, came to a resolution to give up the defence of the heights, lest he should weaken himself by being obliged to divide his forces into many parts. He therefore descended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis;† where he blocked up the fords with strong fortifications on both sides, and threw a bridge, over it; that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons beyond it if the barbarians should make their way through the narrow passes of the mountains, and attempt to storm them. The barbarians held their enemies in such contempt,

* Ipse quirinali trabea, cinctuque Gabino insignis.
Virg. Æneid. 7.

† Now the Adige.

and came on with so much insolence, that, rather to show their strength and courage, than out of any necessity, they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and, having pushed through the ice and deep drifts of snow to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and so slid down, in spite of the broken rocks and vast slippery descents.

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old; they pulled up trees by the roots; they broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. These were to dam up the current. Other bulky materials beside these, were thrown in to force away the bridge, which being carried down the stream with great violence, beat against the timber, and shook the foundation. At the sight of this the Roman soldiers were struck with terror, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occasion Catulus, like an able and excellent general, showed that he preferred the glory of his country to his own. For when he found that he could not persuade his men to keep their post, and that they were deserting it in a very dastardly manner, he ordered his standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of the fugitives led them on himself; choosing rather that the disgrace should fall upon him than upon his country, and that his soldiers should not seem to fly, but to follow their general.

The barbarians now assaulted and took the fortress on the other side of the Athesis: but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them swear to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the spoils, and is said to have been carried to Catulus's house, as the first fruits of the victory. The country at present being without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Hereupon Marius was called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the senate readily passed a decree for that purpose. However, he declined it; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger of their part of the honour, or that, to encourage the people in the

present extremity, he chose to intrust the glory of his former achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it restored to him with interest upon his next success. Having made an oration suitable to the time, he went to join Catulus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then sent for his army out of Gaul; and when it was arrived, he crossed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay: either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to seem so. For they punished those who brought them that account with stripes; and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities, sufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambassadors who their brethren were, they told him the Teutones. The assembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner: "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren; for they have land enough, which we have already given them, and they shall have it for ever." The ambassadors perceiving the irony, answered in sharp and scurrilous terms, assuring him, "That the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and the Teutones when they came." "And they are not far off," said Marius; "it will be very unkind, therefore, in you to go away without saluting your brethren." At the same time he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains: for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to escape over the Alps.

As soon as the ambassadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had passed, they marched directly against Marius, who at that time lay still, and kept within his trenches. It is reported, that on this occasion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they used to fasten the shaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in its place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand right out; but that, the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the shaft of the weapon should be dragged upon the ground, while the point stuck fast in the shield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a small party of horse to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they should meet and decide it by arms, to whom the country should belong. Marius answered, "That the Romans never consulted their enemies when to fight; however, he would indulge the Cimbri in this point." Accordingly they agreed to fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellæ should be the field of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry to act in, and convenient for the barbarians to display their numbers.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces over against each other. Catulus had under his command twenty thousand and three hundred men: Marius had thirty-two thousand. The latter were drawn up in the two wings, and Catulus was in the centre. Sylla, who was present in the battle, gives us this account: and it is reported, that Marius made this disposition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only and securing to himself and his soldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have opportunity to come up to the charge; it being usual, in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body, This is confirmed by the defence which Catulus made of his own behaviour, in which he insisted much on the malignant designs of Marius against him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noise, and formed so as to have their flanks equal to their front; each side of the square extending to thirty furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand issued forth in great splendour. Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts:* on these were fixed high plumes† which made the men appear taller. Their breast-plates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts to fight with at a distance, and when they came hand to hand, they used broad and heavy swords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right, they

* Προτομη signifies the bust or head either of man or animal.

† Λοφος πτερωτος, or *a tuft in the form of a wing*, is litterally *a plume of feathers.*

endeavoured by little and little to enclose the enemy between them and their infantry, who were posted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful design, but were not able to restrain their own men. One happened to cry out, that the enemy fled, and they all set off upon the pursuit. In the mean time, the barbarian foot came on like a vast sea. Marius having purified, lifted his hands towards heaven, and vowed an hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus, in the same posture, promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. As Marius sacrificed on this occasion, it is said that the entrails were no sooner shown him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine."

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened, which, as Sylla writes,* appeared to be intended by heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious dust, it seems, arose, which hid both armies. Marius moving first to the charge had the misfortune to miss the enemy; and having passed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the mean time, the good fortune of Catulus directed the enemy to him, and it was in his legions (in which Sylla tells us he fought) to whose lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the sun, which shone full in the faces of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Those barbarians, being bred in shady and frozen countries, could bear the severest cold, but were not proof against heat. Their bodies soon ran down with sweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold up their shields to shade their faces. Indeed, this battle was fought not long after the summer solstice, and the Romans keep a festival for it on the third day of the kalends of August, then called Sextilis. The dust too, which hid the enemy, helped, to encourage the Romans. For, as they could have no distinct view of the vast numbers of their antagonists, they ran to the charge, and were come to close engagement before the sight of such multitudes could give them any impressions of terror. Besides, the Romans were so strengthened by labour and exercise, that not one of them was observed to sweat or be out of breath, notwithstanding the suffocating heat and the violence of the

* It is a misfortune, that Catulus's History of his consulship, and a greater, that Sylla's Commentaries are lost.

encounter. So Catulus himself is said to have written, in commendation of his soldiers.

The greatest and best part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the spot; those who fought in the front fastened themselves together, by long cords run through their belts,* to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where they found the most shocking spectacle. The women standing in mourning by their carriages, killed those that fled; some their husbands, some their brothers, others their fathers. They strangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them under the wheels and horses feet. Last of all, they killed themselves. They tell us of one that was seen slung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men for want of trees, tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on; that by the starting of the beasts they might be strangled or torn to pieces. But though they were so industrious to destroy themselves, above sixty thousand were taken prisoners, and the killed were said to have been twice that number.

Marius's soldiers plundered the baggage; but the other spoils, with the ensigns and trumpets, they tell us, were brought to the camp of Catulus; and he availed himself chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory belonged to him. A hot dispute, it seems, arose between his troops and those of Marius, which had the best claim; and the ambassadors from Parma, who happened to be there, were chosen arbitrators. Catulus's soldiers led them to the field of battle to see the dead, and clearly proved that they were killed by their javelins, because Catulus had taken care to have the shafts inscribed with his name. Nevertheless, the whole honour of the day was ascribed to Marius, on account of his former victory, and his present authority. Nay, such was the applause of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of* Rome, as having rescued her from a danger not less dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings at home with their wives and children, at supper they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honour of both triumphs.

* This was an absurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended also to have bound their prisoners with the cords after the battle.

He declined this indeed, and triumphed with Catulus, being desirous to show his moderation after such extraordinary instances of success. Or perhaps he was afraid of some opposition from Catulus's soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his share of the honour.

In this manner his fifth consulate was passed. And now he aspired to a sixth, with more ardour than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distingushed themselves by their behaviour in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he said, "The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms." However, the noise that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration he was sometimes in danger of losing the honours he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude; and had no scruple of making his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By these means he made himself obnoxious to all the patricians. But he was most afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus was a man who, from a spirit of true virtue, was naturally an enemy to those who endeavoured to gain the populace by evil arts, and directed all their measures to please them. Marius, therefore, was very desirous to get him out of the way. For this purpose he associated with Glaucias and Saturninus, two of the most daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had the indigent and seditious part of the people at their command. By their assistance he got several laws enacted;

and having planted many of his soldiers in the assemblies, his faction prevailed, and Metellus was overborne.

Rutilius,* in other respects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced against Marius, tells us, he obtained his sixth consulate by large sums which he distributed among the tribes, and having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his servant than his colleague. The people had never before bestowed so many consulates on any one man, except Valerius Corvinus.† And there was this great difference, that between the first and sixth consulate of Corvinus there was an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his first, was carried through five more without interruption, by one tide of fortune.

In the last of these, he exposed himself to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he slew because he was his competitor for the tribuneship. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, proposed an agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing, "That the senate should come and swear in full assembly, to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing." Marius in the senate pretended to declare against this clause, asserting that, "He would never take such an oath, and that he believed no wise man would. For supposing the law not a bad one, it would be a disgrace to the senate to be compelled to give sanction to a thing, which they should be brought to only by choice or persuasion."

These, however, were not his real sentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable snare. As to himself, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence consisted in dissimulation, therefore he made but small account of his declaration in the senate. At the same time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmness,

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul the year before the second consulship of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman history in Greek. Cicero mentions him on several occasions, as a man of honour and probity. He was exiled six or seven years after this sixth consulship of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refused to return.

† Valerius Corvinus was elected consul, when he was only twenty-three years of age, in the year of Rome four hundred and six; and he was appointed consul the sixth time in the year of Rome four hundred and fifty-two.

who, with Pindar, esteemed *truth the spring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to draw in him to refuse it too; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable resentment of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would not take the oath, the senate was dismissed. A few days after, Saturninus summoned the fathers to appear in the *forum*, and swear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him, when bidding adieu to the fine things he had said in the senate, he told the audience, "That he was not so opinionated, as to pretend absolutely to prejudge a matter of such importance, and therefore he would take the oath and keep the law too, provided it was a law." This proviso, he added, merely to give a colour to his impudence, and was sworn immediately.*

The people, charmed with his compliance, expressed their sense of it in loud acclamations; while the patricians were abashed, and held his double-dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to be conformable, and not expose himself to those dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for such as refused, shrunk not from the dignity of his resolution, nor took the oath. That great man abode by his principles; he was ready to suffer the greatest calamities, rather than do a dishonourable thing; and as he quitted the *forum*, he said to those about him, "To do an ill action, is base; to do a good one, which involves you in no danger, is nothing more than common: but it is the property of a good man, to do great and good things, though he risks every thing by it."

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use

* Thus Marius made the first step towards the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long after. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever the people should decree, whether bad or good, they ceased to have a weight in the scale, and the government became a democracy. And, as the people grew so corrupt as to take the highest price that was offered them, absolute power must be advancing with hasty strides. Indeed a nation which has no principle of public virtue left, is not fit to be governed by any other.

of fire and water, whom no man should admit into his house. And the meanest of the people adhering to that party, were ready even to assassinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themselves on his side; but he would suffer no sedition on his account. Instead of that, he adopted a wise measure, which was to leave the city. "For," said he, "either matters will take a better turn, and the people repent, and recal me; or if they remain the same, it will be best to be at a distance from Rome." What regard and what honours were paid Metellus during his banishment, and how he lived at Rhodes in the study of philosophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was so highly obliged to Saturninus for this last piece of service, that he was forced to connive at him, though he now ran out into every act of insolence and outrage. He did not consider that he was giving the reins to a destroying fury, who was making his way in blood to absolute power and the subversion of the state. All this while Marius was desirous to keep fair with the nobility, and at the same time to retain the good graces of the people; and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous and deceitful. One night some of the first men in the state came to his house, and pressed him to declare against Saturninus; but at that very time he let in Saturninus at another door unknown to them. Then pretending a disorder in his bowels, he went from one party to the other; and this trick he played several times over, still exasperating both against each other. At last the senate and the equestrian order rose in a body, and expressed their indignation in such strong terms, that he was obliged to send a party of soldiers into the *forum*, to suppress the sedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the rest of the cabal, fled into the Capitol. There they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail; they no sooner came down into the *forum*, than they were all put to the sword.* He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the com-

* The people dispatched them with clubs and stones.

mons, so that when the time for the election of censors came on, contrary to expectation, he declined offering himself, and permitted others of less note to be chosen. But though it was his fear of a repulse that made him sit still, he gave it another colour; pretending he did not choose to make himself obnoxious to the people, by a severe inspection into their lives and manners.

An edict was now proposed for the recal of Metellus, Marius opposed it with all his power; but finding his endeavours fruitless, he gave up the point, and the people passed the bill with pleasure. Unable to bear the sight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering some sacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reason which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that in a state of inaction its lustre began to fade. He therefore studied to raise new commotions. If he could but stir up the Asiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who seemed most inclined to quarrel, he hoped soon to be appointed general against him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own house with the spoils of Pontus and the wealth of its monarch. For this reason though Mithridates treated him in the politest and most respectful manner, he was not in the least mollified, but addressed him in the following terms:...." Mithridates, your business is, either to render yourself more powerful than the Romans, or to submit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of speech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the first time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome, he built a house near the *forum;* either for the convenience of those who wanted to wait on him, which was the reason he assigned: or because he hoped to have a greater concourse of people at his gates. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, which others were masters of: and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not so much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained afflicted him exceedingly;

because he was rising by means of the envy which the patricians bore *him*, and his first step to the administration was a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus, king of Numidia now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the Capitol some figures of victory adorned with trophies, and placed by them a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius was almost distracted. He considered this as an act by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared to demolish these monuments by force. Sylla, on his part as strenuously opposed him.

This sedition was just upon the point of flaming out, when the *war of the allies* intervened,* and put a stop to it. The most warlike and most populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and were not far from subverting the empire. Their strength consisted not only in the weapons and valour of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior to those of Rome.

This war, so remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla, as it diminished that of Marius. The latter now seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions; whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour (for he was now about sixty-five years old) or that, as he himself said, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honour. However, he beat the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at least six thousand of them, and through the whole he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least concerned at it. It is reported, that when Pompedius Silo, an officer of the greatest eminence and authority among the allies, said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight us;" he answered, "If you are a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of

* This was also called the Marsian war. It broke out in the six hundred and sixty-second year of Rome. Vid. *Flor.* l. iii. c. 18.

attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties were retired, he called his soldiers together, and made this short speech to them....." I know not which to call the greatest cowards, the enemy or you; for neither dare they face your backs, nor you theirs." At last, pretending to be incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and several applications were made, through the popular orators, for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him proconsul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided, some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bid Marius go to the warm baths of Baiæ for cure, since by his own confession, he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. It seems, Marius had a fine *villa* at Misenum, more luxuriously and effeminately furnished, than became a man who had been at the head of so many armies, and had directed so many campaigns. Cornelia is said to have bought this house for seventy-five thousand drachmas; yet, no long time after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it five hundred thousand two hundred: to such a height did expence and luxury rise in the course of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age went every day into the *campus martius*; where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms, and active on horseback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with these things, and went to see the spirit he exerted in the exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though raised from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think, that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, as if he were in want of all things, was going, at so great an age, and after so many honours and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reason that

Marius assigned for this step, namely, that he wanted himself to train up his son to war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been sickly for some time, and now her disorder came to a crisis. Marius had found a fit instrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius. A man who in other respects admired and imitated Saturninus, but considered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no such error, he got six hundred men of the equestrian order about him, as his guard, whom he called his *Anti-senate*.

One day while the consuls were holding an assembly of the people,* Sulpitius came upon them with his assassins. The consuls immediately fled, but he seized the son of one of them, and killed him on the spot. Sylla (the other consul) was pursued, but escaped into the house of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when the pursuers were gone by, it is said that Marius himself let him out at a back gate, from whence he got safe to the camp. But Sylla, in his commentaries, denies that he fled to the house of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wanted him to pass against his will; that he was surrounded with drawn swords, and carried forcibly to that house; and that at last he was removed from thence to the *forum*, where he was compelled to revoke the order of vacation†, which had been issued by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, sent two tribunes to Sylla with orders that he should deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, instead of resigning his charge, animated his troops to revenge and led them, to the number of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, directly against Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius had sent to demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all slaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But we are told, there

* Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were consuls. It was the son of the latter that was slain.

† If that order had not been revoked, no public business could have been done; consequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command against Mithridates.

were but three that accepted this offer. He could, therefore, make but a slight resistance; Sylla soon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As soon as he had quitted Rome, he was abandoned by those that had accompanied him. They dispersed themselves as they could; and night coming on, he retired to a little house he had near Rome, called Salonium. Thence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide necessaries. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Ostia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ship, and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's son by a former husband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's estate, he hastened to collect such things as he wanted and to pack them up. But before he could make an end he was overtaken by day-light, and was near being discovered by the enemy; for a party of horse had hastened thither, on suspicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of those grounds got sight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart load of beans. Then he put to his team, and driving up to the party of horsemen, passed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who supplied him with some necessaries; and as soon as it grew dark, he made for the sea, where finding a ship ready to sail for Africa, he embarked, and passed over to that country.

In the mean time, the elder Marius with a favourable gale coasted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Geminius, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his professed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were willing enough to oblige him; but, the wind shifting on a sudden, and blowing hard from sea, they were afraid they should not be able to weather the storm. Besides, Marius was indisposed and sea-sick: they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circæum. There finding that the tempest increased, and their provisions began to fail, they went on shore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by persons in great perplexity; they shun the present as the greatest evil, and seek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the sea was the same: it was dangerous to

meet with men; it was dangerous also not to meet with them, because of their extreme want of provisions. In the evening they met with a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them; but happening to know Marius, they desired he would immediately quit those parts, for a little before they had seen a number of horse upon the very spot riding about in search of him. He was now involved in all manner of distress, and those about him ready to give out through hunger. In this extremity he turned out of the road, and threw himself into a thick wood, where he passed the night in great anxiety. Next day in distress for want of refreshment, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, before it quite forsook him, he moved down to the sea-side. As he went he encouraged his companions not to desert him, and earnestly entreated them to wait for the accomplishment of his last hope, for which he reserved himself, upon the credit of some old prophecies. He told them, that when he was very young, and lived in the country, an eagle's nest fell into his lap, with seven young ones in it.* His parents, surprised at the sight, applied to the diviners, who answered, that their son would be the most illustrious of men, and that he would seven times attain the highest office and authority in his country.

Some say this had actually happened to Marius; others are of opinion, that the persons who were then about him, and heard him relate it, on that as well as several other occasions during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time. Nay, even Musæus is accused of a false assertion, when he says, *The eagle lays three eggs, sits on two, and hatches but one.* However this may be, it is agreed on all hands, that Marius, during his banishment, and in the greatest extremities, often said, "He should certainly come to a seventh consulship."

They were not now above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ, when they espied at some considerable distance a troop of horse making towards them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near the shore. They ran down, therefore, to the sea, with all the speed

* Marius might as well avail himself of this fable, as of the prophecies of Martha.

and strength they had; and when they had reached it, plunged in and swam towards the ships. Granius gained one of them and passed over to an opposite island, called Ænaria. As for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was borne with much difficult by two servants above the water, and put into the other ship. The party of horse were by this time come to the sea-side, from whence they called to the ship's crew, either to put ashore immediately, or else to throw Marius over-board, and then they might go where they pleased. Marius begged of them with tears to save him; and the masters of the vessel, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions several times, resolved to make answer, "That they would not deliver up Marius." Upon this, the soldiers rode off in a great rage; and the sailors, soon departing from their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows and forms a marsh, and advised Marius, who was much harassed, to go and refresh himself on shore, till they could get a better wind. This they said would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the sea would fall, and that from the marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore; and he seated himself on the grass little thinking of what was going to befal him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away: thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by all the world, he sat a good while on the shore, in silent stupefaction. At length, recovering himself with much difficulty, he rose and walked in a disconsolate manner through those wild and devious places, till by scrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himself at his feet, and begged him "To save and shelter a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him "His hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only to repose himself; but if he was wandering about to elude the search of his enemies, he would hide him in a place much safer and more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a

hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed with a tumultuous noise from the cottage. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Tarracina in pursuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man, for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and having stripped himself, plunged into the bog, amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered than screened him. They hauled him out naked, and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the Magistrates. For proclamation had been made through all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death, wherever he was found. The magistrates, however, thought proper to consider of it, and sent him under a guard to the house of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate aversion to Marius. When she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, she demanded her whole fortune, which was considerable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause was brought before Marius, who was then consul for the sixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage; and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when he married her. Besides he had lived with her a considerable time in the state of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her was disgrace, sentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia however, forgetful of female resentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmost of her power. He acknowleged her generosity, and at the same time expressed the greatest vivacity and confidence. The occasion of this was an auspicious omen. When he was conducted to her house, as he approached, and the gate was opened, an ass came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to its species, fixed its eyes stedfastly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and as it passed him, skipped wantonly along. The conclusion which he drew from this omen was that the gods meant he should seek his safety by sea; for that it was not in consequence of

any natural thirst, that the ass went to the fountain.* This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be secured, he went to rest.

However, the magistrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in history) went up to him sword in hand, with an intent to dispatch him. The chamber in which he lay, was somewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin; while, at the same time he heard a solemn voice saying, "Dost thou dare to kill Marius?" Upon this the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill "Marius." The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment....pity and remorse ensued....should they put to death the preserver of Italy? was it not even a disgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let him go," said they, "let the exile go, and await his destiny in some other region! It is time we should deprecate the anger of the gods, who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer the common privileges of hospitality!" Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea coast. Yet in the midst of their officious expedition they met with some delay. The Marician grove, which they hold sacred, and suffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way..... Consequently they could not pass through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At last an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inaccessible, if it could contribute to the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said this, than he took some of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The rest followed with the same alacrity, and when Marius came to the coast, he found a vessel provided for him by one Belæus. Some time after he presented a picture representing this event to the temple of Marica.† When Marius set sail, the wind drove him to the island of Æneria, where he found Granius and some other friends, and with

* All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was, that the ass, like the sheep, is seldom seen to drink.

† Virgil mentions this nymph, Æn 7.

....."Et Nympha genitum Laurente Marica."

them he sailed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman quæstor kept such a strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and no fewer than sixteen of the waterman were killed. From thence he immediately sailed for the island of Meninx, where he first heard that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the succour of Heimpsal, king of Numidia. This gave him some encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor of Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for something from his pity. He was just landed with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addressed him: "Marius, I come from the prætor "Sextilius, to tell you, that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the senate's decree, and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length, the officer asked him, what answer he should carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," said the unfortunate man with a sigh, "that thou hast seen the exiled Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage.*" Thus in the happiest manner in the world, he proposed the fate of that city and his own as warnings to the prætor.

In the mean time, Heimpsal king of Numidia, was unresolved how to act with respect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but whenever he desired leave to depart, found some pretence or other to detain him. At the same time it was plain, that these delays did not proceed from any intention of serving him. An accident, however, set him free. The young man was handsome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity soon turned to love. At first he rejected the woman's advances. But when he saw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than gross, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means escaped with his friends, and came to his father.

* There is not, perhaps, any thing nobler, or a greater proof of genius than this saying, in Marius's whole life.

After the first salutations, as they walked along the shore, they saw two scorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill-omen; they went, therefore, on board a fishing-boat, and made for Cercina, an island not far distant from the continent. They were scarce got out to sea, when they saw a party of the king's horse n full speed towards the place where they embarked: o that Marius thought he never escaped a more instant danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the consuls at Rome,* and that they had recourse to arms. Octavius, having the advantage. drove out Cinna, who was aiming at absolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula consul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war against them. Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten to Cinna. He took with him some Marusian horse, which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thousand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany called Telamon, and as soon as he was landed, proclaimed liberty to the slaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen too, husbandmen, shepherds, and such like, to the shore; the ablest of which he enlisted, and in a short time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and disposed to govern agreeably to justice; but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war against the established government. He resolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly, he sent to acquaint him, that he considered him as consul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offers declared him proconsul, and sent him the *fasces* and other ensigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alledging that such pomp did not become his ruined fortunes. Instead of that he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow as it had done from the day of his exile. He was now, indeed, upwards of seventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly slow. This appearance was intended to excite

* The year of Rome six hundred and sixty-six, and eighty-five years before Christ. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was against it.

compassion. Yet his native fierceness, and something more, might be distinguished amidst all this look of misery; and it was evident that he was not so much humbled, as exasperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had saluted Cinna, and made a speech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and soon changed the face of affairs. In the first place he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their store-ships, and made himself master of the bread-corn. In the next place, he coasted along, and seized the sea-port towns. At last, Ostia itself was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, slew most of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge over the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any provisions to Rome by sea. Then he marched to Rome, and posted himself upon the hill called Janiculum.

Meanwhile the cause did not suffer so much by the incapacity of Octavius as by his anxious and unseasonable attention to the laws: For when many of his friends advised him to enfranchise the slaves, he said, "He would not grant such persons the freedom of that city, in defence of whose constitution he shut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the son of that Metellus who commanded in the African war, and was afterwards banished by Marius, the army within the walls leaving Octavius, applied to him, as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding that they should fight and conquer, when they had got an able and active general. Metellus, however, rejected their suit with indignation, and bade them go back to the consul; instead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the same time Metellus withdrew, giving up the city for lost.

As for Octavius, he stayed, at the persuasion of certain Chaldæan diviners and expositors of the Sibylline books, who promised him that all would be well. Octavius was indeed one of the most upright men among the Romans: he supported his diginity as consul, without giving any ear to flatterers, and regarded the laws and ancient usages of his country as rules never to be departed from. Yet he had all the weakness of superstition, and spent more of his time with fortune-tellers and prognosticators, than with men of political or military abilities. However, before Marius entered the city, Octavius was dragged from the tribunal and slain by persons commissioned for that purpose, and it

is said a Chaldæan scheme was found in his bosom as he lay. It seems unaccountable, that of two such generals as Marius and Octavius, the one should be saved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination.

While affairs were in this posture, the senate assembled, and sent some of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a request that they should come into the city, but spare the inhabitants. Cinna, as consul, received them, sitting in his chair of state, and gave them an obliging answer. But Marius stood by the consul's chair, and spoke not a word. He showed, however, by the gloominess of his look, and the menacing sense of his eye, that he would soon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forward towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard: But Marius stopped at the gates, with a dissimulation dictated by his resentment. He said, "He was a banished man, and the laws prohibited his return. If his country wanted his service, she must repeal the law which drove him into exile;" as if he had a real regard for the laws, or were entering a city still in possession of its liberty.

The people, therefore, were summoned to assemble for that purpose. But before three or four tribes had given their suffrages, he put off the mask, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard selected from the slaves that had repaired to his standard. These he called his Bardiæans.* At the least word or sign given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for destruction. So that when Ancharius, a senator, and a man of prætorian dignity, saluted Marius, and he returned not the salutation, they killed him in his presence. After this they considered it as a signal to kill any man, who saluted Marius in the streets, and was not taken any notice of: So that his very friends were seized with horror, whenever they went to pay their respects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall: it was satiated with blood. But the fury of Marius seemed rather to increase: his appetite for slaughter was sharpened by indulgence, and he went on

* M. de Thou conjectured that we should read Bardyetæ, because there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name. Some manuscripts have Ortiæans.

destroying all who gave him the least shadow of suspicion. Every road, every town was full of assassins, pursuing and hunting the unhappy victims.

On this occasion it was found, that no obligations of friendship, no rights of hospitality, can stand the shock of ill fortune. For there were very few who did not betray those that had taken refuge in their houses. The slaves of Cornutus, therefore, deserve the highest admiration. They hid their master in the house, and took a dead body out of the street from among the slain, and hanged it by the neck; then the put a gold ring on the finger, and showed the corpse in that condition to Marius's executioners; after which, they dressed it for the funeral, and buried it as their master's body. No one suspected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long as it was necessary, was conveyed by those servants into Galatia.

Mark Antony the orator likewise found a faithful friend, but did not save his life by it. This friend of his was in a low station of life: however, as he had one of the greatest men of Rome under his roof, he entertained him in the best manner he could, and often sent to a neighbouring tavern for wine for him. The vintner finding that the servant who fetched it, was something of a connoisseur in tasting the wine, and insisted on having better, asked him, "Why he was not satisfied with the common new wine he used to have, but wanted the best and the dearest?" The servant, in the simplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his master's house. As soon as he was gone, the knowing vintner went himself to Marius, who was then at supper; and told him, he could put Antony into his power; Upon which, Marius, clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himself, had not he been dissuaded by his friends. However, he sent an officer, named Annius, with some soldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came to the house, Annius stood at the door, while the soldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they saw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but such was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that so far from laying hands upon him, they stood motionless, with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annius

goes up, beholds Antony adressing the soldiers, and the soldiers confounded by the force of his address. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakness, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catulus, the colleague of Marius, who had jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every intercessory effort was vain, shut himself up in a narrow chamber, and suffered himself to be suffocated by the steam of a large coal fire. When the bodies were thrown out and trod upon in the streets....it was not pity they excited; it was horror and dismay. But what shocked the people much more was the conduct of the Bardiæans, who, after they had murdered the masters of families, exposed the nakedness of their children, and indulged their passions with their wives; in short, their violence and rapacity were beyond all restraint, till Cinna and Sertorius determined, in council, to fall upon them in their sleep, and cut them off to a man.

At this time the tide of affairs took a sudden turn. News was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a short respite, a breathing from these inexpressible troubles; as the apprehensions of war had been universally prevalent. Marius was now chosen consul the seventh time, and as he was walking out on the kalends of January, the first day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus to be seized, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock; a circumstance which occasioned an unhappy presage of approaching evils. The consul himself, worn out with a series of misfortunes and distress, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of wars and conflicts. For he considered that it was not an Octavius, a Merula, the desperate leaders of a small sedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the banisher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolving the miseries, the flights, the dangers he had experienced both by land and sea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice seemed continually to pronounce in his ear:

Dread are the slumbers of the distant lion.

Unable to support the painfulness of watching, he had recourse to the bottle, and gave in to those excesses, which by no means suited his years. At last, when, by intelligence

from sea, he was convinced of the approach of Sylla, his apprehensions were heightened to the greatest degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continual anxiety, threw him into a pleuritic fever; and in this state, Posidonius, the philosopher, tells us, he found him, when he went to speak to him on some affairs of his embassy. But Caius Piso the historian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at supper, he gave them a short history of his life, and, after expatiating on the uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wise man to live in subjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, he took to his bed, died seven days after. There are those who impute his death to the excess of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium; insomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war against Mithridates, and uttered all the expressions used in an engagement. Such was the violence of his ambition for that command!

Thus, at the age of seventy, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of a more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himself, in the first place, that he was born a man; in the next place, that he had the happiness of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian; and last of all, that he was the cotemporary of Sophocles. Antipator of Tarsus, too, a little before his death recollected the several advantages of his life, not forgetting even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling his accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every agreeable circumstance in that excellent book of the mind, his memory. How much wiser, how much happier than those, who, forgetful of every blessing they have received, hang on the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they are idly grasping at future acquisitions, neglect the enjoyment of the present! Though the future gifts of fortune are not in their power, and though their present possessions are not in the power of fortune, they look up to the former and neglect the latter. Their punishment, however, is not less just, than it is certain. Before philosophy and the cultivation of reason have laid a proper foundation for the management of wealth and power, they pursue them with that avidity, which must for ever harass an undisciplined mind.

Marius died on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship. His death was productive of the greatest joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event that freed them from the worst of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an old and feeble tyrant, for one who had youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the son of Marius, whose sanguinary spirit showed itself in the destruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at first procured him the title of the son of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the son of Venus. When he was besieged in Preneste, and had tried every little artifice to escape, he put an end to his life that he might not fall into the hands of Sylla.

LYSANDER.

AMONG the sacred deposits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inscription, BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHII TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS.* Hence many are of opinion, that the marble statue which stands in the chapel of that nation just by the door, is the statue of Brasidas. But in fact it is Lysander's, whom it perfectly represents, with his hair at full growth,† and a length of beard, both after the ancient fashion. It is not true, indeed (as some would have it), that, while the Argives cut their hair in sorrow for the loss of a great battle,‡ the Lacedæmonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of success. Nor did they first give into this custom, when the

* Brasidas, when general of the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian interest, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In consequence of which he joined with them in consecrating certain Athenian spoils to Apollo. The statue, therefore, probably was his, though Plutarch thinks otherwise. Vid. *Thucyd.* lib. iv.

† Why might not Brasidas, who was a Lacedæmonian, and a contemporary of Lysander, be represented with long hair as well as he

‡ This was the opinion of Herodotus, but perfectly groundless.

Bacchiadæ * fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks. But it is derived from the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that *long hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible*,

Aristoclitus,† the father of Lysander, is said not to have been of the royal line, but to be descended from the Heraclidæ by another family. As for Lysander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan discipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleasure, except that which results from the honour and success gained by great actions. And it was no fault at Sparta for young men to be led by this sort of pleasure. There they choose to instil into their children an early passion for glory, and teach them to be much affected by disgrace, as well as elated by praise. And he that is not moved at these things, is despised as a person of a mean soul, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame, then, and jealousy of honour, which ever influenced Lysander, were imbibed in his education; and consequently nature is not to be blamed for them. But the attention which he paid the great, in a manner that did not become a Spartan, and that easiness with which he bore the pride of power, whenever his own interest was concerned, may be ascribed to his disposition. This complaisance, however, is considered by some as no small part of politics.

Aristotle somewhere observes,‡ that great geniuses are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives instances in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules; and he tells us that Lysander though not in his youth, yet in his age was inclined to it. But what is most peculiar in his character is, that though he bore poverty well himself, and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, and robbed her of the glory she had of despising riches. For, after the Athenian war, he brought in a great quantity of gold and silver, but

* The Bacchiadæ had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years, but were at last expelled by Cypselus, who made himself absolute master there. *Herodot.* l. v.

† Pausanias calls him Aristocritus.

‡ Problem, sect. 30.

reserved no part of it for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughter some rich Sicilian garments, he refused them, alleging, "He was afraid those fine clothes would make them look more homely." Being sent however, soon after, ambassador to Dionysius, the tyrant offered him two vests, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which he said, "His daughter knew better how to choose than he," and so took them both.

As the Peloponnesian war was drawn out to a great length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, saw their fleets driven out of the sea, and themselves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from banishment, applied himself to remedy this evil, and soon made such a change, that the Athenians were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedæmonians. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians began to be afraid in their turn, and resolved to prosecute the war with double diligence; and as they saw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at sea to Lysander.*

When he came to Ephesus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians; because it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants often visited it. Lysander, therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for the galleys. By these means he filled their port with merchants, their market with business, and their houses and shops with money. So that from time and from his services, Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour in which it now flourishes.

As soon as he heard that Cyrus, the king's son was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tisaphernes. That viceroy had an order to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to destroy the naval force of the Athenians; but, by reason of his partiality to Alcibiades, he acted with no vigour, and sent such poor supplies, that the fleet was almost ruined. Cyrus was very glad to find this charge against Tisaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and

* In the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, four hundred and six years before Christ.

an enemy to him in particular. By this and the rest of his conversation, but most of all by the respect and attention which he paid him, Lysander recommended himself to the young prince, and engaged him to prosecute the war. When the Lacedæmonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus desired him, at an entertainment provided on that occasion, not to refuse the marks of his regard but to ask some favour of him. "As you are so very kind to me." said Lysander, "I beg you would add an *obolus* to the seamen's pay, so that instead of three *oboli* a day, they may have four." Cyrus, charmed with this generous answer, made him a present of ten thousand pieces of gold.* Lysander employed the money to increase the wages of his men, and by this encouragement in a short time almost emptied the enemy's ships. For great numbers came over to him, when they knew they should have better pay; and those who remained became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lysander had thus drained and weakened his adversaries, he was afraid to risk a naval engagement; knowing Alcibiades not only to be a commander of extraordinary abilities, but to have the advantage in number of ships, as well as to have been successful in all the battles he had fought whether by sea or land.

However, when Alcibiades was gone from Samos to Phocæa, and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, the pilot, to insult Lysander, and show his own bravery, sailed to the harbour of Ephesus with two galleys only, where he hailed the Lacedæmonian fleet with a great deal of noise and laughter, and passed by in the most insolent manner imaginable. Lysander resenting the affront got a few of his ships under sail, and gave chase. But when he saw the Athenians come to support Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at last the action became general. Lysander gained the victory, took fifteen ships, and erected a trophy. Hereupon, the people of Athens, incensed at Alcibiades, took the command from him; and, as he found himself slighted and censured by the army at Samos too, he quitted it, and withdrew to Chersonesus. This battle, though not considerable in itself, was made so by the misfortunes of Alcibiades.

* Darici.

Lysander now invited to Ephesus the boldest and most enterprising inhabitants of the Greek cities in Asia, and sowed among them the seeds of those aristocratical forms of government which afterwards took place. He encouraged them to enter into associations, and to turn their thoughts to politics, upon promise, that when Athens was once subdued, the popular government in their cities too should be dissolved, and the administration vested in them. His actions gave them a confidence in his promise: For those who were already attached to him by friendship or the rights of hospitality, he advanced to the highest honours and employments; not scrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppression, to satisfy their avarice and ambition. So that every one endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Lysander; to him they paid their court; they fixed their hearts upon him; persuaded that nothing was too great for them to expect, while he had the management of affairs. Hence it was, that from the first they looked with an ill eye on Callicratidas, who succeeded him in the command of the fleet: and though they afterwards found him the best and most upright of men, they were not satisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the Doric* plainness and sincerity. It is true, they admired the virtue of Callicratidas, as they would the beauty of some hero's statue: but they wanted the countenance, the indulgence, and support they had experienced in Lysander, insomuch that when he left them, they were quite dejected and melted into tears.

Indeed, he took every method he could think of, to strengthen their aversion to Callicratidas. He even sent back to Sardis the remainder of the money, which Cyrus had given him for the supply of the fleet, and bade his successor go and ask for it, as he had done, or contrive some other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of sailing, he made this declaration; "I deliver to you a fleet that is mistress of the seas." Callicratidas willing to show the insolence and vanity of his boast, said, "Why do not you then take Samos on the left, and sail round to Miletus, and deliver the fleet to me there? for we need not be afraid of passing

* Dacier refers this to the Dorian music. But the Doric manners had a simplicity in them, as well as the music.

by our enemies in that island, if we are masters of the seas." Lysander made only this superficial answer: You have the command of the ships, and not I;" and immediately set sail for Peloponnesus.

Callicratidas was left in great difficulties: For he had not brought money from home with him, nor did he choose to raise contributions from the cities, which were already distressed. The only way left, therefore, was to go, as Lysander had done, and beg it of the kings lieutenants. And no one was more unfit for such an office, than a man of his free and great spirit, who thought any loss that Grecians might sustain from Grecians, preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing else to boast of. Necessity, however, forced him into Lydia: where he went directly to the palace of Cyrus, and bade the porters tell him, that Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral desired to speak with him. "Stranger," said one of the fellows, "Cyrus is not at leisure: he is drinking." "'Tis very well," said Callicratidas, with great simplicity, "I will wait here till he has done." But when he found that these people considered him as a rustic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a second time, and could not gain admittance. And now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Ephesus, venting execrations against those who first cringed to the barbarians, and taught them to be insolent on account of their wealth. At the same time he protested, that as soon as he was got back to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Grecians among themselves, and to make them formidable to the barbarians, instead of their poorly petitioning those people for assistance against each other. But this Callicratidas, who had sentiments so worthy of a Spartan, and who, in point of justice, magnanimity, and valour, was equal to the best of the Greeks, fell soon after in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, where he lost the day.

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates sent an embassy to Sparta, to desire that the command of the navy might be restored to Lysander, promising to support the cause with much greater vigour, if he had the direction of it. Cyrus, too, made the same requisition. But as the law forbade the same person to be chosen admiral twice, and yet the Lacedæmonians were willing to oblige

their allies, they vested a nominal command in one Aracus, while Lysander, who was called only lieutenant, had the power. His arrival was very agreeable to those who had, or wanted to have, the chief authority in the Asiatic cities: for he had long given them hopes, that the democracy should be abolished, and the government devolve entirely upon them.

As for those who loved an open and generous proceeding, when they compared Lysander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and subtlety, who directed his operations by a set of artful expedients, and measured the value of justice by the advantage it brought; who, in short, thought interest the thing of superior excellence, and that nature had made no difference between truth and falsehood, but either was recommended by its use. When he was told, it did not become the descendants of Hercules to adopt such artful expedients, he turned it off with a jest, and said, "Where the lion's skin falls short it must be eked out with the fox's."

There was a remarkable instance of this subtlety, in his behaviour at Miletus. His friends and others with whom he had connections there, who had promised to abolish the popular government, and to drive out all that favoured it, had changed their minds and reconciled themselves to their adversaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he loaded them with reproaches and excited them to attack the commons. However, when he knew the tumult was begun, he entered the city in haste, and running up to the leaders of the sedition, gave them a severe reprimand, and threatened to punish them in an exemplary manner. At the same time, he desired the people to be perfectly easy, and to fear no farther disturbance while he was there. In all which he acted only like an artful dissembler, to hinder the heads of the plebeian party from quitting the city, and to make sure of their being put to the sword there. Accordingly there was not a man that trusted to his honour, who did not lose his life.

There is a saying too, of Lysander's recorded by Androclides, which shows the little regard he had for oaths. "Children," he said, "were to be cheated with cockalls, and men with oaths." In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it ill became a general of

an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies. For he who over-reaches by a false oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but despises his God.

Cyrus, having sent for Lysander to Sardis, presented him with great sums, and promised more. Nay, to show how high he was in his favour, he went so far as to assure him, that, if his father would give him nothing, he would supply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing else failed, he would melt down the very throne on which he sat when he administered justice, and which was all of massy gold and silver. And when he went to attend his father in Media, he assigned him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province in his hands. At parting he embraced, and intreated him not to engage the Athenians at sea before his return, because he intended to bring with him a great fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince, Lysander did not choose to fight the enemy, who were not inferior to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with such a number of ships, and therefore he cruised about and reduced some islands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged; and from thence sailed to Attica, where he waited on Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coast, to show his land-forces what a powerful navy there was, which gave them the command of the seas in a manner they could not have expected. Lysander, however, seeing the Athenians in chase of him, steered another way back through the islands to Asia. As he found the Hellespont unguarded, he attacked Lampsacus by sea, while Thorax made an assault upon it by land; in consequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which consisted of an hundred and twenty ships, had advanced to Eleus, a city in the Chersonesus. There getting intelligence that Lampsacus was lost, they sailed immediately to Sestos, where they took in provisions, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos. They were now just opposite the enemy, who still lay at anchor near Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several officers, among whom Philocles was one: the same who had persuaded the people to make a decree that the prisoners of war should have their right thumbs cut off,

that they might be disabled from handling a pike, but still be serviceable at the oar.

For the present they all went to rest, in hopes of coming to an action next day. But Lysander had another design. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. These were to wait in silence for orders, the land-forces were to form on the shore, and watch the signal. At sun-rise the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians, and gave the challenge. Lysander, though he had manned his ships over night, and stood facing the enemy, did not accept of it: On the contrary, he sent orders by his pinnaces to those ships that were in the van not to stir, but to keep the line without making the least motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not suffer one man to land, till two or three galleys which he had sent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were disembarked. Next morning they ranged themselves in the same manner, and the like was practised a day or two longer. This made the Athenians very confident; they considered the adversaries as a dastardly set of men, who durst not quit their station.

Meanwhile, Alcibiades, who lived in a castle of his own in the Chersonesus, rode to the Athenian camp, and represented to the generals two material errors they had committed. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a dangerous and naked shore; the other, that they were so far from Sestos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their provisions. He told them, it was their business to sail to the port of Sestos without loss of time; where they would be at a greater distance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and so well disciplined, that they would execute his orders upon the least signal. These were the lessons he gave them, but they did not regard him. Nay, Tydeus said with an air of contempt, "You are not general now, but we." Alcibiades even suspected some treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as usual, in a careless and disdainful manner. Upon this Lysander detached some galleys to observe them; and ordered the officers, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, to sail back as fast as possible; and when they were

come half way, to lift up a brazen shield at the head of each ship, as a signal for him to advance. He then sailed through all the line, and gave instructions to the captains and pilots to have all their men in good order, as well mariners as soldiers; and when the signal was given, to push forward with the utmost vigour against the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the signal appeared, the trumpet sounded in the admiral galley, the ships began to move on, and the land-forces hastened along the shore to seize the promontory. The space between the two continents, in that place, is fifteen furlongs, which was soon overshot by the diligence and spirit of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first that descried them from land, and hastened to get his men on board. Sensible of the impending danger, some he commanded, some he entreated, and others he forced into the ships. But all his endeavours were in vain. His men not in the least expecting a surprize were dispersed up and down, some in the market-place, some in the fields; some were asleep in their tents, and some preparing their dinner. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardless of what might happen. The shouts and the noise of the enemy rushing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ships, and escaped to Evagoras king of Cyprus. The Peloponnesians fell upon the rest, took those that were empty, and disabled the others, as the Athenians were embarking. Their soldiers coming unarmed and in a straggling manner to defend the ships, perished in the attempt, and those that fled were slain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, and seized the whole fleet, except the sacred galley called Peralus, and those that escaped with Conon. When he had fastened the captive galleys to his own, and plundered the camp, he returned to Lampsacus, accompanied with the flutes and songs of triumph. This great action cost him but little blood; in one hour he put an end to a long and tedious war,* which had been diversified beyond all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel war, which had occasioned so many battles, appeared in such different forms, produced such vicissitudes of fortune, and destroyed more generals

* This war lasted twenty-seven years.

than all the wars of Greece put together, was terminated by the conduct and capacity of one man. Some therefore esteemed it the effect of a divine interposition. There were those who said, that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side the helm of Lysander's ship, when he first set out against the Athenians. Others thought that a stone which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos Potamos, and was of a prodigious size. The people of the Chersonesus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day.* It is said that Anaxagoras had foretold, that one of those bodies which are fixed in the vault of heaven, would one day be loosened by some shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the stars are not now in the places where they were originally formed; that being of a stony substance and heavy, the light they give is caused only by the reflection and refraction of the ether; and that they are carried along and kept in their orbits, by the rapid motion of the heavens, which, from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were separated from the rest, hindered them from falling.

But there is another and more probable opinion, which holds, that falling stars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, that go out the moment they are kindled; nor yet a quantity of air bursting out from some compression, and taking fire in the upper region; but that they are really heavenly bodies, which, from some relaxation of the rapidity of their motion, or by some irregular concussion, are loosened and fall, not so much upon the habitable part of the globe, as into the ocean, which is the reason that their substance is seldom seen.

Damachus,† however, in his treatise concerning religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates, that for seventy-five days together, before that stone fell, there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place, but carried this way and that,

* This victory was gained the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, four hundred and three years before the birth of Christ. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered his prediction sixty-two years before the battle. *Plin.* l. xi. c. 58.

† Not Damachus, but Diamachus of Platæa, a very fabulous writer, and ignorant of the mathematics; in which, as well as history, he pretended to great knowledge. *Strab.* lib. i.

with a broken and irregular motion: and that by its violent agitation several fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightness of so many falling stars. After this body was fallen in the Chersonesus, and the inhabitants, recovered from their terror, assembled to see it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the least sign of fire, but a real stone, which, though large, was nothing to the size of that fiery globe they had seen in the sky, but appeared only as a bit crumbled from it. It is plain, that Damachus must have very indulgent readers, if this account of his gains credit. If it is a true one, it absolutely refutes those who say that this stone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempest from the top of a mountain, which, after being borne for some time in the air by a whirlwind, settled in the first place where the violence of that abated. Perhaps at last, this phenomenon which continued so many days was a real globe of fire; and when that globe came to disperse and draw towards extinction, it might cause such a change in the air, and produce such a violent whirlwind, as tore the stone from its native bed, and dashed it on the plain. But these are discussions that belong to writings of another nature.

When the three thousand Athenian prisoners were condemned by the council to die, Lysander called Philocles, one of the generals, and asked him what punishment he thought he deserved, who had given his citizens such cruel advice with respect to the Greeks? Philocles, undismayed by his misfortunes, made answer, "Do not start a question, where there is no judge to decide it; but now you are a conquerer, proceed, as you would have been proceeded with, had you been conquered." After this, he bathed, and dressed himself in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the first, according to Theophrastus, who offered his neck to the axe.

Lysander next visited the maritime towns, and ordered all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens. His design was, that the crowds he drove into the city, might soon occasion a famine, and so prevent the trouble of a long siege, which must have been the case, if provisions had not been plentiful. Wherever he came, he abolished the democratic, and other forms of government, and set up a Lacedæmonian governor, called *Harmostes*,

assisted by ten archons, who were to be drawn from the societies he established. These changes he made as he sailed about at his leisure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in those of his allies, and by this means in a manner engrossed to himself the principality of all Greece. For in appointing governors he had no regard to family or opulence, but chose them from among his own friends or out of the brotherhoods he had erected, and invested them with full power of life and death. He even assisted in person at executions, and drove out all that opposed his friends and favourites. Thus he gave the Greeks a very indifferent specimen of the Lacedæmonian government. Therefore, Theopompus,* the comic writer, was under a great mistake, when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who at first gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but afterwards dashed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was disagreeable and bitter; for Lysander not only took the administration out of the hands of the people, but composed his oligarchies of the boldest and most factious of the citizens.

When he had dispatched this business, which did not take up any long time, he sent messengers to Lacedæmon, with an account that he was returning with two hundred ships. He went, however, to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pausanias, in expectation of the immediate surrender of Athens. But finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he crossed over again to Asia. There he made the same alteration in the government of cities, and set up his decemvirate, after having sacrificed in each city a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians,† he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the persons whom they had banished. And when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove out the Sestians too, and divided both the city and territory among his pilots and boatswains. This was the first step of his which the Lacedæmonians disapproved: they annulled what he had done, and restored

* Muretus shows from a passage in Theodorus Metochites, that we should read here *Theopompus the historian*, instead of *Theopompus the comic writer*.

† These things did not happen in the order they are here related. Samos was not taken till a considerable time after the long walls of Athens were demolished. *Xenoph. Hellen.* ii.

the Sestians to their country. But in other respects the Grecians were well satisfied with Lysander's conduct. They saw with pleasure the Æginetæ recovering their city, of which they had long been dispossessed, and the Melians and Scionæans re-established by him, while the Athenians were driven out, and gave up their claims.

By this time, he was informed that Athens was greatly distressed with famine; upon which he sailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to surrender at discretion. The Lacedæmonians say, that Lysander wrote an account of it to the *ephori* in these words: "Athens is taken;" to which they returned this answer, "If it is taken, that is sufficient." But this was only an invention to make the matter look more plausible. The real decree of the *ephori* ran thus: "The Lacedæmonians have come to these resolutions: You shall pull down the Piræus and the long walls; quit all the cities you are possessed of, and keep within the bounds of Attica. On these conditions you shall have peace, provided you pay what is reasonable, and restore the exiles.* As for the number of ships you are to keep, you must comply with the orders we shall give you."

The Athenians submitted to this decree, upon the advice of Theramenes the son of Ancon.† On this occasion, we are told, Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addressed him: "Dare you go contrary to the sentiments of Themistocles, by delivering up those walls to the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them?" Theramenes answered, "Young man, I do not in the least counteract the intention of Themistocles: for he built the walls for the preservation of the citizens, and we for the same purpose demolish them. If walls only could make a city happy and secure, Sparta, which has none, would be the unhappiest in the world."

After Lysander had taken from the Athenians all their ships, except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the sixteenth of the

* The Lacedæmonians knew that if the Athenian exiles were restored, they would be friends and partisans of theirs; and if they were not restored they should have a pretext for distressing the Athenians when they pleased.

† Or Agnon.

month Munychion (April); the very day they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He presently set himself to change their form of government: and finding that the people resented his proposal, he told them, "That they had violated the terms of their capitulation; for their walls was still standing, after the time fixed for the demolishing of them was past; and that, since they had broken the first articles, they must expect new ones from the council." Some say, he really did propose in the council of the allies, to reduce the Athenians to slavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion, that the city should be levelled with the ground, and the spot on which it stood, turned to pasturage.

Afterwards, however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a musician of Phocis happened to begin a *chorus* in the Electra of Euripides, the first lines of which are these.....

> Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
> Thy straw-crown'd palace I approach.

The whole company were greatly moved at this incident, and could not help reflecting how barbarous a thing it would be to raze that noble city, which had produced so many great and illustrious men. Lysander, however, finding the Athenians entirely in his power, collected the musicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls, and burned the ships to the sound of their instruments; while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced, and hailed the day as the first of their liberty.

Immediately after this he changed the form of their government, appointing thirty archons in the city, and ten in the Piræus, and placing a garrison in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan, named Callibius. This Callibius, on some occasion or other, lifted up his staff to strike Autolycus, a wrestler who Xenophon has mentioned in his *Symposiacs;* upon which Autolycus seized him by the legs, and threw him upon the gound. Lysander, instead of resenting this, told Callibius, by way of reprimand, "He knew not they were freemen, whom he had to govern." The thirty tyrants, however, in complaisance to Callibius, soon after put Autolycus to death,

Lysander,* when he had settled these affairs, sailed to Thrace.† As for the money that remained in his coffers, the crowns and other presents, which were many and very considerable, as may well be imagined, since his power was so extensive, and he was in a manner master of all Greece, he sent them to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily. Gylippus, they tell us, opened the bags at the bottom, and took a considerable sum out of each, and then sewed them up again; but he was not aware that in every bag there was a note which gave account of the sum it contained. As soon as he arrived at Sparta, he hid the money he had taken out, under the tiles of his house, and then delivered the bags to the *ephori*, with the seals entire. They opened them, and counted the money, but found that the sums differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarrassed, till a servant of Gylippus told them enigmatically, "a great number of owls roosted in the Ceramicus."‡ Most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl, in respect to the Athenians.

Gylippus, having sullied his former great and glorious actions by so base and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedæmon. On this occasion in particular, the wisest among the Spartans observed the influence of money, which would corrupt not only the meanest, but the most respectable citizens, and therefore were very warm in their reflections upon Lysander for introducing it. They insisted too, that the *ephori* should send out all the silver and gold, as evils destructive in the proportion they were alluring.

In pursuance of this, a council was called, and a decree proposed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephoras, by Phlogidas, "That no coin, whether of gold or silver, should be admitted into Sparta, but that they should use the money that had long obtained." This money was of iron dipped in vinegar while it was

* Xenophon says, he went now against Samos.

† Plutarch should have mentioned in this place the conquest of the isle of Thasos, and in what a cruel manner Lysander, contrary to his solemn promise, massacred such of the inhabitants as had been in the interest of Athens. This is related by Polyænus. But as Plutarch tells us afterwards, that he behaved in this manner to the Milesians, perhaps the story is the same, and there may be a mistake only in the names.

‡ Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewise signifies the tiling of a house.

red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might not be applied to any other use. Besides, it was heavy, and difficult of carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value. Perhaps, all the ancient money was of this kind, and consisted either of pieces of iron or brass, which from their form were called *obelisci*; whence we have still a quantity of small money called *oboli*, six of which make a *drachma* or *handful*, that being as much as the hand can contain.

The motion for sending out the money was opposed by Lysander's party, and they procured a decree, that it should be considered as the public treasure, and that it should be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uses; as if Lycurgus had been afraid of the money, and not of the avarice it produces. And avarice was not so much prevented by forbidding the use of money in the occasions of private persons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in the public; for that added dignity to its use, and excited strong desires for its acquisition. Indeed, it was not to be imagined, that while it was valued in public it would be despised in private, or that what they found so advantageous to the state, should be looked upon of no concern to themselves. On the contrary, it is plain, that customs depending upon national institutions, much sooner effect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For, when the whole is distempered, the parts must be affected too; but when the disorder subsists only in some particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by those that have not yet received the infection. So that these magistrates while they set guards, I mean law and fear of punishment, at the doors of the citizens, to hinder the entrance of money, did not keep their minds untainted with the love of it: they rather inspired that love, by exhibiting wealth as a great and admirable thing. But we have censured this conduct of theirs in another place.

Lysander, out of the spoils he had taken, erected at Delphi his own statue, and those of his officers, in brass; he also dedicated in gold the stars of Castor and Pollux, which disappeared * before the battle of Leuctra. The

* They were stolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loss the Spartans were to suffer in that battle.

galley made of gold and ivory,* which Cyrus sent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians. Alexandrides of Delphi writes,† that Lysander deposited there a talent of silver, fifty-two *minæ* and eleven *staters:* but this is not agreeable to the accounts of his poverty we have from all historians.

Though Lysander had now attained to greater power than any Grecian before him, yet the pride and loftiness of his heart exceeded it. For he was the first of the Grecians, according to Duris, to whom altars were erected by several cities, and sacrifices offered, as to a god.‡ To Lysander two hymns were first sung, one of which began thus.....

> To the fam'd leader of the Grecian bands,
> From Sparta's ample plains! sing Io pæan!

Nay, the Samians decreed that the feasts which they had used to celebrate in honour of Juno, should be called the feast of Lysander. He always kept the Spartan poet Chœrilus in his retinue,|| that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the power of verse. And when Antilochus had written some stanzas in his praise, he was so delighted that he gave him his hat full of silver. Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea, composed each a panegyric that bore his name, and contested in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at

* So Aristobulus the Jewish prince, presented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at five hundred talents. That vineyard was consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

† This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an account of the offerings stolen from the temple at Delphi.

‡ What incense the meanness of human nature can offer to one of their own species! nay, to one who having no regard to honour or virtue, scarce deserved the name of a man! The Samians worshipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt; that after one dreadful sacrifice to his cruelty, he might seek no more.

|| There were three poets of this name, but their works are all lost. The first, who was of Samos, sung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes. He flourished about the seventy-fifth Olympiad. The second was this Chœrilus, of Sparta, who flourished about seventy years after the first. The third was he who attended Alexander the Great, above seventy years after the time of Lysander's Chœrilus.

which Antimachus* was so much offended that he suppressed his poem. Plato, was then very young, and a great admirer of Antimachus's poetry, addressed him while under this chagrin, and told him by way of consolation, "That the ignorant are sufferers by their ignorance, as the blind are by their want of sight." Aristonous, the lyrist, who had six times won the prize at the Pythian games to pay his court to Lysander, promised him, that if he was once more victorious, he would declare himself Lysander's retainer, or even his slave.

Lysander's ambition was a burden only to the great, and to persons of equal rank with himself. But that arrogance and violence which grew into his temper along with his ambition, from the flatteries with which he was besieged, had a more extensive influence. He set no moderate bounds either to his favour or resentment. Governments unlimited and unexamined were the rewards of any friendship or hospitality he had experienced, and the sole punishment that could appease his anger, was the death of his enemy: nor was there any way to escape.

There was an instance of this at Miletus. He was afraid that the leaders of the plebeian party there would secure themselves by flight: therefore, to draw them from their retreats, he took an oath not to do any of them the least injury. They trusted him, and made their appearance; but he immediately delivered them to the opposite party, and they were put to death, to the number of eight hundred. Infinite were the cruelties he exercised in every city, against those who were suspected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only consulted his own passions, and gratified his own revenge, but co-operated, in his respect, with the resentments and avarice of all his friends. Hence it was, that the saying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian was reckoned a good one, "That Greece could not bear two Lysanders." Theophrastus, indeed, tells us, that Archistratus† had said the same thing of Alcibiades. But insolence, luxury, and vanity, were the most disagreeable part of his character; whereas Lysander's power was

* According to others, he was of Claros. He was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. But some thought him too pompous and verbose.

† It should be read Archestratus.

attended with a cruelty and savageness of manners, that rendered it unsupportable.

There were many complaints against him, which the Lacedæmonians paid no regard to. However, when Pharnabazus sent ambassadors to Sparta, to represent the injury he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the *ephori* were incensed, and put Thorax, one of his friends and colleagues, to death, having found silver in his possession contrary to the late law. They likewise ordered Lysander home by their *scytale*, the nature and use of which was this: Whenever the magistrates sent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood with so much exactness, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickness. One of these they kept themselves, the other was delivered to the officer then employed. These pieces of wood were called *scytale*. When they had any secret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolled it about their own staff, one fold close to another, and then wrote their business on it. This done, they took off the scroll, and sent it to the general. As soon as he received it, he applied it to his staff, which being just like that of the magistrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing: and though, before, the characters were so broken and disjointed, that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The parchment as well as the staff, is called *scytale*, as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

Lysander, who was then in the Hellespont, was much alarmed at the *scytale*. Pharnabazus being the person whose impeachment he most dreaded, he hastened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compass their differences. When they met, he desired him to send another account to the magistrates, signifying that he neither had nor made any complaint. He was not aware (as the proverb has it) that "He was playing the Cretan with a Cretan." Pharnabazus promised to comply with his request, and wrote a letter in his presence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him to a quite contrary effect. When the letter was to be sealed, he palmed that upon him which he had written privately, and which exactly resembled it. Lysander upon his arrival at Lacedæmon, went, according to custom, to the senate-

house, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the magistrates; assuring himself that the heaviest charge was removed. For he knew that the Lacedæmonians paid a particular attention to Pharnabazus, because, of all the king's lieutenants, he had done them the greatest services in the war. When the *ephori* had read the letter, they showed it to Lysander. He now found to his cost that "others have art besides Ulysses," and in great confusion left the senate-house.

A few days after he applied to the magistrates, and told them he was obliged to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the sacrifices he had vowed before his battles. Some say, that when he was besieging the city of the Aphytæans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to raise the siege; that he complied with that order, and bade the Aphytæans sacrifice to Ammon; and for the same reason now hastened to pay his devotions to that deity in Libya. But it was generally believed, that he only used the deity as a pretext, and that the true reason of his retiring was his fear of the *ephori*, and his aversion to subjection. He chose rather to wander in foreign countries, than to be controuled at home. His haughty spirit was like that of an horse, which has long ranged the pastures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the stall, and to his former burden. As for the reason which Ephorus assigns for this voyage, I shall mention it by and by.

With much difficulty he got leave of the *ephori* to depart, and took his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings considered that it was by means of the associations he had formed, that he held the cities in subjection, and was in effect master of all Greece. They resolved, therefore, to drive out his friends, and re-establish the popular governments. This occasioned new commotions. First of all, the Athenians, from the castle of Phyle,* attacked the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this, Lysander returned, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to support the oligarchies, and to chastise the people; in consequence of which, they remitted an hundred talents to the tyrants, to enable them to carry on the war, and ap-

* A castle above Athens, strongly situated. Xenophon often mentions it in the second book of his Grecian History.

pointed Lysander himself their general. But the envy with which the kings were actuated, and their fear that he would take Athens a second time, led them to determine, that one of them should attend the expedition. Accordingly Pausanias marched into Attica, in appearance to support the thirty tyrants against the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, lest Lysander, by his interest in Athens, should become master of it again. This he easily effected, by reconciling the Athenians among themselves, and composing the tumults, he clipt the wings of Lysander's ambition. Yet as the Athenians revolted soon after, Pausanias was blamed for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again. On the contrary, it added to the reputation of Lysander: he was now considered as a man who took not his measures either through favour or ostentation, but in all his operations, how severe soever, kept a strict and steady eye upon the interests of Sparta.

Lysander, indeed, had a ferocity in his expressions as well as actions, which confounded his adversaries. When the Argives had a dispute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedæmonians, he showed them his sword, and said, "He that is master of this, can best plead about boundaries."

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in a certain conversation, he said, "My friend, those words of thine should not come but from strong walls and bulwarks."

When the Bœotians hesitated upon some propositions he made them, he asked them, "Whether he should trail or push his pikes among them."

The Corinthians having deserted the league, he advanced up to their walls, but the Lacedæmonians, he found, were very loth to begin the assault. A hare just then happening to start out of the trenches, he took occasion to say, "Are not you ashamed to dread those enemies, who are so idle that the very hares sit in quiet under their walls?"

When king Agis paid the last tribute to nature, he left behind him a brother named Agesilaus, and a reputed son named Leotychidas. Lysander, who had regarded Agesilaus with an extraordinary affection, persuaded him to lay claim to the crown, as a genuine descendant of Hercules; whereas Leotychidas was suspected to be the son of Alci-

biades, and the fruit of a private commerce which he had with Timæa the wife of Agis, during his exile in Sparta. Agis, they tell us, from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took no notice of Leotychidas, but rather openly disavowed him through the whole course of his life. However, when he fell sick, and was carried to Heræa,* he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of the youth himself, and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witnesses that Leotychidas was his lawful son. At the same time, he desired all persons present to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmonians, and then immediately expired.

Accordingly, they gave their testimony in favour of Leotychidas. As for Agesilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and supported besides by the interest of Lysander; but his affairs were near being ruined by Diophites, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameness:.....

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire †
> Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
> Than thou beheld'st await thee.....borne away
> By the strong tide of war.....

Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lysander observed that Diophites had mistaken the sense of the oracle; for that the deity did not give himself any concern about their being governed by a lame king, but meant that their government would be lame if spurious persons should wear the crown amongst the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his address, and partly by his interest, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Agesilaus, and he was declared king.

Lysander immediately pressed him to carry the war into Asia, encouraging him with the hope of destroying the Persian monarchy, and becoming himself the greatest of

* Xenophon (l. ii.) tells us that Agis fell sick at Heræa, a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta, and died there.

† The oracle considered the two kings of Sparta as its two legs, the supports of its freedom; which in fact they were, by being a check upon each other. The Lacedæmonians were, therefore, admonished to beware of a *lame government*, of having their republic converted into a monarchy; which, indeed, proved their ruin at last. Vide *Justin.* l. vi.

mankind. He likewise sent instruments to his friends in Asia, to petition the Lacedæmonians, to give Agesilaus the conduct of the war against the barbarians. They complied with his order, and sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon for that purpose. Indeed, this command which Lysander procured Agesilaus, seems to have been an honour equal to the crown itself. But ambitious spirits, though in other respects not unfit for affairs of state, are hindered from any great actions, by the envy they bear their fellow candidates for fame: For thus they make those their adversaries who would otherwise have been their assistance in the course of glory.

Agesilaus took Lysander with him, made him one of his thirty counsellors, and gave him the first rank in his friendship. But when they came into Asia, Agesilaus found, that the people, being unacquainted with him, seldom applied to him, and were very short in their addresses; whereas Lysander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, some attending out of friendship, and others out of fear. Just as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor represents a messenger or a servant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and sceptre, is hardly listened to when he speaks; so in this case the counsellor engrossed all the honour, and the king had the title of commander without the power.

Doubtless this unseasonable ambition of Lysander deserved correction, and he was to be made to know that the second place only belonged to him. But entirely to cast off a friend and benefactor, and, from a jealousy of honour, to expose him to scorn, was a step unworthy the character of Agesilaus. He began with taking business out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him on any occasion where he might distinguish himself. In the next place, those for whom Lysander interested himself, were sure to miscarry, and to meet with less indulgence than others of the meanest station. Thus the king gradually undermined his power.

When Lysander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindness was only an hinderance to his friends, he desired them to forbear their addresses to him, and to wait only upon the king, or the present dispensers of his favours. In consequence of this, they gave him no

farther trouble about business, but still continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of resort. This gave Agesilaus more pain than ever, and his envy and jealousy continually increased; insomuch that while he gave commands and governments to common soldiers, he appointed Lysander his carver. Then, to insult the Ionians, he bade them "go and make their court to his carver."

Hereupon, Lysander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their discourse was very laconic:.... "Truly, Agesilaus, you know very well how to tread upon your friends." "Yes," said he, "when they want to be greater than myself. It is but fit that those who are willing to advance my power, should share it." Perhaps," said Lysander, "this is rather what you say, than what I did. I beg of you, however, for the sake of strangers who have their eyes upon us, that you will put me in some post, where I may be least obnoxious, and most useful to you.

Agreeably to this request, the lieutenancy of the Hellespont was granted him; and though he still retained his resentment against Agesilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found Spithridates,* a Persian remarkable for his valour, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and persuaded him to revolt to Agesilaus. This was the only service he was employed upon; and when this commission was expired, he returned to Sparta, in great disgrace, highly incensed against Agesilaus, and more displeased than ever with the whole frame of government. He resolved, therefore, now, without any farther loss of time, to bring about the change he had long meditated in the constitution.

When the Heraclidæ mixed with the Dorians, and settled in Peloponnesus, there was a large and flourishing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole, however, were not entitled to the regal succession, but only two families, the Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ; while the rest had no share in the administration on account of their high birth. For as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of distinguished merit. Lysander, who was of this lineage,

* So Xenophon calls him, not Mithridates, the common reading in Plutarch. Indeed, some manuscripts have it Spithridates in the life of Agesilaus.

no sooner saw himself exalted by his great actions, and supported with friends and power, but he became uneasy to think that a city which owed its grandeur to him, should be ruled by others no better descended than himself. Hence he entertained a design to alter the settlement which confined the succession to two families only, and to lay it open to all the Heraclidæ. Some say, his intention was to extend this high honour not only to all the Heraclidæ, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it might not so much belong to the posterity of Hercules, as to those who resembled Hercules in that virtue which numbered him with the gods. He hoped, too, that when the crown was settled in this manner, no Spartan would have better pretensions than himself.

At first he prepared to draw the citizens into a scheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnassus for that purpose. But he soon saw that so great and difficult a reformation required bolder and more extraordinary methods to bring it to bear. And as in tragedy machinery is made use of, where more natural means will not do, so he resolved to strike the people with oracles and prophecies; well knowing that the eloquence of Cleon would avail but little, unless he first subdued their minds with divine sanctions and the terrors of superstition. Ephorus tells us, he first attempted to corrupt the priestess of Delphi, and afterwards those of Dodona by means of one Pherecles; and having no success in either application, he went himself to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the priests large sums of gold. They too rejected his offers with indignation, and sent deputies to Sparta to accuse him of that crime. When these Libyans found he was acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans in this manner...."We will pass better judgments, when you come to live among us in Libya." It seems, there was an ancient prophecy, that the Lacedæmonians would some time or other settle in Africa. This whole scheme of Lysander's was of no ordinary texture, nor took its rise from accidental circumstances, but was laid deep, and conducted with uncommon art and address: so that it may be compared to a mathematical demonstration, in which, from some principles first assumed, the conclusion is deducted through a variety of abstruse and intricate steps.

We shall, therefore, explain it at large, taking Ephorus, who was both an historian and philosopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus, who gave it out that she was pregnant by Apollo. Many rejected her assertion, and many believed it. So that when she was delivered of a son, several persons of the greatest eminence took particular care of his education, and for some reason or other gave him the name of Silenus. Lysander took this miraculous birth for a foundation, and raised all his building upon it. He made choice of such assistants as might bring the story into reputation, and put it beyond suspicion. Then he got another story propagated at Delphi and spread at Sparta, "That certain ancient oracles were kept in the private registers of the priests, which it was not lawful to touch or to look upon, till in some future age a person should arise, who could clearly prove himself the son of Apollo, and he was to interpret and publish those oracles." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance, as the son of Apollo, and demand the oracles. The priests, who were in combination, were to inquire into every article, and examine him strictly as to his birth. At last they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to show him the books. Silenus then was to read in public all those prophecies, particularly that for which the whole design was set on foot; namely, "That it would be more for the honour and interest of Sparta to set aside the present race of kings, and choose others out of the best and most worthy men in the commonwealth." But when Silenus was grown up, and came to undertake his part, Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry by the cowardice of one of the actors, whose heart failed him just as the thing was going to be put in execution. However nothing of this was discovered while Lysander lived.

He died before Agesilaus returned from Asia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece, in the Bœotian war. It is indeed related variously, some laying the blame upon him, some upon the Thebans, and others upon both. Those who charge the Thebans with it, say they overturned the altar and profaned the sacrifice *

* Beside this affair of the sacrifice, the Lacedæmonians were offended at the Thebans, for their claiming the tenths of the treasure

Agesilaus was offering at Aulus ; and that Androclides and Amphitheus, being corrupted with Persian money,* attacked the Phocians, and laid waste their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedæmonians, the Grecian war. On the other hand, they who make Lysander the author of the war, inform us, he was highly displeased that the Thebans only, of all the confederates, should claim the tenth of the Athenian spoils taken at Decelea, and complain of his sending the money to Sparta. But what he most resented, was their putting the Athenians in a way of delivering themselves from the thirty tyrants, whom he had set up. The Lacedæmonians, to strengthen the hands of those tyrants and make them more formidable, had decreed, " That if any Athenian fled out of the city he should be apprehended, wherever he was found, and obliged to return ; and that whoever opposed the taking of such fugitives, should be treated as enemies to Sparta." The Thebans on that occasion gave out orders that deserve to be inrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They caused proclamation to be made, " That every house and city should be open to such Athenians as desired protection ; that whoever refused assistance to a fugitive that was seized, should be fined a talent ; and that if any one should carry arms through Bœotia against the Athenian tyrants, he should not meet with the least molestation," Nor were their actions unsuitable to these decrees so humane and so worthy of Grecians. When Thrasybulus and his company seized the castle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes they set out ; and the Thebans not only supplied them with arms and

taken at Decelea ; as well as for refusing to attend them in their expedition against the Piræus, and dissuading the Corinthians from joining in that enterprise. Indeed, the Thebans began to be jealous of the growing power of the Lacedæmonians, and did not want to see the Athenians, whose weight had been considerable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. *Xenoph.* Gr. Hist. l. iii.

* These were not the only persons who had taken the Persian money. Tithocrates, alarmed at the progress Agesilaus was making in Asia, sent Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be distributed among the leading men in the states of Greece. Those of Corinth and Argos had their share as well as the Thebans. In consequence of this, the Thebans persuaded the Locrians to pillage a track of land that was in dispute between the Phocians and the Thebans. The Phocians made reprisals. The Thebans supported the Locrians; whereupon the Phocians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general

money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. These were the grounds of Lysander's resentment against them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy that grew upon him with years, made him still more so. He therefore importuned the *ephori* to send him against the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pausanias was soon sent after him with another. Pausanias took a circuit by mount Cithæron, to enter Bœotia, and Lysander went through Phocis with a very considerable force to meet him. The city of Orchomenus was surrendered to him, as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by storm, and plundered it. From thence he sent letters to Pausanias, to desire him to remove from Platæa, and join him at Haliartus; for he intended to be there himself by break of day. But the messenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitering party, and the letters were carried to Thebes. Hereupon, the Thebans intrusted their city with a body of Athenian auxiliaries, and marched out themselves about midnight for Haliartus. They reached the town a little before Lysander, and entered it with part of their forces. Lysander at first thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pausanias. But when the day began to decline, he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedæmonians and confederates to arms. Then he led out his troops in a direct line along the high road up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear, at the fountain called Cissusa.*

It is fabled that the nurses of Bacchus washed him in this fountain immediately after his birth. The water is, indeed, of a bright and shining colour like wine, and a most agreeable taste. Not far off grow the Cretan canes† of which javelins are made: by which the Haliartians would prove that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Besides, they show his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena too is near that place; and nothing, they say

* The name of this fountain should probably be corrected from Pausanias and Strabo, and read *Tilphusa* or *Tilphosa*.

† Strabo tells us Haliartus was destroyed by the Romans in the war with Perseus. He also mentions a lake near it, which produces canes or reeds, not for shafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch too mentions the latter use in the life of Sylla.

can be more probable than that she was buried there, because she married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans, who had entered the city, drew up with the Haliartians, and stood still for some time. But when they saw Lysander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they rushed out at the gates, and killed him, with a diviner by his side, and some few more; for the greatest part retired as fast as possible to the main body. The Thebans pursued their advantage, and pressed upon them with so much ardour, that they were soon put to the rout, and fled to the hills. Their loss amounted to a thousand, and that of the Thebans to three hundred. The latter lost their lives by chasing the enemy into craggy and dangerous ascents. These three hundred had been accused of favouring the Lacedæmonians; and being determined to wipe off that stain, they pursued with a rashness which proved fatal to themselves.

Pausanias received the news of this misfortune, as he was upon his march from Platæa to Thespiæ, and he continued his rout in good order to Haliartus. Thrasybulus likewise brought up his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pausanias wanted a truce, that he might article for the dead: but the older Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They went to him, and declared, "That they would never recover the body of Lysander by truce, but by arms: that if they conquered, they should bring it off, and bury it with honour, and if they were worsted, they should fall gloriously upon the same spot with their commander." Notwithstanding these representations of the veterans, Pausanias saw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans, now flushed with victory; and that even if he should have the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry off the body which lay so near the walls. He therefore sent an herald who settled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As soon as they were got out of the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lysander in the territories of the Penopæans, which was the first ground belonging to their friends and confederates. His monument still remains, by the road from Delphi to Chæronea. While the Lacedæmonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocian, who was giving an account of the action to a friend of his that was

not in it, said, "The enemy fell upon them, just after Lysander had passed the Hoplites." While the man stood wondering at the account, a Spartan, a friend of Lysander's, asked the Phocian what he meant by *Hoplites*,* for he could make nothing of it." "I mean," said he, "the place where the enemy cut down our first ranks. The river that runs by the town is called Hoplites." The Spartan, when he heard this, burst out into tears, and cried out, "How inevitable is fate!" It seems Lysander had received an oracle, couched in these terms.....

> Fly from Hoplites and the earth-born dragon
> That stings thee in the rear.....

Some say the Hoplites does not run by Haliartes, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and runs along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Isomantus. The Haliartian who killed Lysander, was named Neochorus, and he bore a dragon in his shield, which it was supposed the oracle referred to.

They tell us too, that the city of Thebes, during the Peloponnesian war, had an oracle from the Ismenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at Delium,† and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus.....

> Beware the confines of the wolf; nor spread
> Thy snares for foxes on the Orchalian hills.

The country about Delium he calls the confines, because Bœotia there borders upon Attica; and by the Orchalian hill is meant that in particular called *Alopecus*,‡ on that side of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

After the death of Lysander, the Spartans so much resented the whole behaviour of Pausanias with respect to that

* *Hoplites*, though the name of that river, signifies also *a heavy armed soldier*.

† The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, four hundred and twenty-two years before Christ; and that of Haliartus full twenty-nine years after. But it is common for historians to make use of a round number, except in cases where great precision is required.

‡ That is, *fox-hill*.

event, that they summoned him to be tried for his life. He did not appear to answer that charge, but fled to Tegea, and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he spent the rest of his days as her suppliant.

Lysander's poverty, which was discovered after his death, added lustre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithstanding the money which had passed through his hands, the authority he had exercised over so many cities, and indeed the great empire he had been possessed of, he had not in the least improved his family fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more easily believe when he commends than when he finds fault; for he, as well as many others, was more inclined to censure than to praise.

Ephorus tells us, that afterwards, upon some disputes between the confederates and the Spartans, it was thought necessary to inspect the writings of Lysander, and for that purpose Agesilaus went to his house. Among the other papers, he found that political one, calculated to show how proper it would be to take the right of succession from the Eurytionidæ and Agidæ, and to elect kings from among persons of the greatest merit. He was going to produce it before the citizens, and to show what the real principles of Lysander were: But Lacratidas, a man of sense, and the principal of the *ephori*, kept him from it, by representing, "How wrong it would be to dig Lysander out of his grave, when this oration, which was written in so artful and persuasive a manner, ought rather to be buried with him."

Among the other honours paid to the memory of Lysander, that which I am going to mention is none of the least. Some persons, who had contracted themselves to his daughters in his lifetime, when they found he died poor, fell off from their engagement. The Spartans fined them for courting the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking off when they discovered that poverty which was the best proof of Lysander's probity and justice. It seems, at Sparta there was a law which punished not only those who continued in a state of celibacy, or married too late, but those that married ill; and it was levelled chiefly at persons who married into rich rather than good families. Such are the particulars of Lysander's life which history has supplied us with.

SYLLA.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla was of a patrician family. One of his ancestors, named Rufinus,* is said to have been consul, but to have fallen under a disgrace more than equivalent to that honour. He was found to have in his possession more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not allow, and for that was expelled the senate. Hence it was that his posterity continued in a low and obscure condition; and Sylla himself was born to a very scanty fortune. Even after he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a small consideration; and afterwards he was reproached with it, when he was risen to such opulence as he had no reason to expect: For one day as he was boasting of the great things he had done in Africa, a person of character made answer, "How canst thou be an honest man, who art master of such a fortune, though thy father left thee nothing?" It seems, though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expence, yet they considered it as no less disgraceful to have departed from family poverty, than to have spent a paternal estate. And a long time after, when Sylla had made himself absolute, and put numbers to death, a man who was only the second of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for concealing a friend of his that was in the proscription, spoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner:..... "I am his old acquaintance; we lived long under the same roof: I hired the upper aparment at two thousand sesterces, and he that under me at three thousand." So that the difference between their fortunes was then only a thousand sesterces, which in Attic money is two hundred and fifty drachmas. Such is the account we have of his origin.

* Publius Cornelius Rufinus was twice consul; the first time in the year of Rome four hundred and sixty-three, and the second thirteen years after. He was expelled the senate two years after his second consulship, when Q. Fabricius Lucinus, and Caius Æmilius Papus were censors. Velleius Paterculus tells us Sylla was the sixth in descent from this Rufinus; which might very well be: for between the first consulship of Rufinus and the first campaign of Sylla there was a space of a hundred and eighty-eight years.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his statues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing; and the ferocity of his aspect was heightened by his complection, which was a strong red interspersed with spots of white. From his complection, they tell us, he had the name of Sylla;* and an Athenian droll drew the following jest from it:

"Sylla's a mulberry, strew'd o'er with meal."....Nor is it foreign to make these observations upon a man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obscurity, was such a lover of drollery, that he spent his time with mimics and jesters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the height of his power, he would collect the most noted players and buffoons every day, and, in a manner unsuitable to his age and diginity, drink and join with them in licentious wit, while business of consequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of any thing serious at his table; and though at other times a man of business, and rather grave and austere in his manner, he would change instantaneously, whenever he had company, and began a carousal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the most affable man in the world, the most easy of access, and they moulded him just as they pleased.

To this dissipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his disorderly and infamous love of pleasure, which stuck by him even in age. One of his mistresses, named Nicopolis, was a courtesan, but very rich. She was so taken with his company and the beauty of his person, that she entertained a real passion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His mother-in-law, who loved him as her own son, likewise left him her estate. With these additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quæstor to Marius in his first consulship, and went over with him into Africa to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honour, and among other things, availed himself of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus king of Numidia. The ambassadors of that prince had just escaped out of the hands of robbers, and were in a very indifferent

* Sil or Syl is a yellow kind of earth, which, when burnt, becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus Color*, in Vitruvius, signifies purple.

condition, when Sylla gave them the most humane reception, loaded them with presents, and sent them back with a strong guard.

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his son-in-law Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat; and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, chose rather to let Sylla seize him, than to deliver him up himself. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and taking a small party with him, set out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What, indeed, could be more so, than in hopes of getting another man in his power, to trust himself with a barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus saw them at his disposal, and that he was under a necessity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himself which should be the victim. At last he determined to abide by his first resolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

This procured Marius a triumph; but envy ascribed all the glory of it to Sylla, which Marius in his heart not a little resented: especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obscure condition, now came to general esteem, let his ambition carry him so far, as to give orders for a signet to be engraved with a representation of this adventure, which he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, as he thought Sylla not considerable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus, in his second consulship, he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of a thousand men. Sylla, in these several capacities, performed many important services. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectosagæ, prisoner; and in that of tribune, he persuaded the great and popular nation of the Marsi to declare themselves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneasy at his success, and that, instead of giving him new occasions to distinguish himself, he rather opposed his advancement, he applied to Catulus the colleague of Marius.

Catulus was a worthy man, but wanted that vigour which is necessary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the

most difficult enterprises; which opened him a fine field both of honour and power. He subdued most of the barbarians that inhabited the Alps: and in a time of scarcity, undertook to procure a supply of provisions; which he performed so effectually, that there was not only abundance in the camp of Catulus, but the overplus served to relieve that of Marius.

Sylla himself writes, that Marius was greatly afflicted at this circumstance. From so small and childish a cause did that enmity spring, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nourished by civil wars and the rage of faction; till it ended in tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This shows how wise a man Euripides was, and how well he understood the distempers of government, when he called upon mankind to beware of ambition,* as the most destructive of demons to those that worship her.

Sylla by this time thought the glory he had acquired in war sufficient to procure him a share in the administration, and therefore immediately left the camp, to go and make his court to the people. The office he solicited was that of the *city prætorship*, but he failed in the attempt. The reason he assigns is this: The people, he says, knowing the friendship between him and Bocchus, expected, if he was ædile before his prætorship, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beasts, and on that account chose other prætors, that he might be forced upon the ædileship. But the subsequent events showed the cause alledged by Sylla not to be the true one: For the year following † he got himself elected prætor, partly by assiduities, and partly by his money. While he bore that office, he happened to be provoked at Cæsar, and said to him angrily, "I will use *my* authority against you." Cæsar ‡ answered, laughing, "You do well to call it *yours*, for you bought it."

After his prætorship he was sent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the re-establishment of Ariobarzanes; but his real design was to restrain the enterprising spirit of Mithridates, who was gaining himself

* Phœnissæ, v. 534.

† The year of Rome six hundred and fifty-seven.

‡ This must have been Sextus Julius Cæsar, who was consul four years after Sylla's prætorship. Caius Julius Cæsar was only four years old when Sylla was prætor.

dominions no less respectable than his paternal ones. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himself of the service of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cause. With these he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces great numbers of them, and still more of the Armenians, who came to their succour; in consequence of which, Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came ambassador to him from Arsaces, king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourse between the two nations: and it must be considered as a circumstance of Sylla's good fortune, that he was the first Roman to whom the Parthians applied for friendship and alliance. At the time of audience, he is said to have ordered three chairs, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and another in the middle for himself. Orobazus was afterwards put to death by the king of Parthia, for submitting so far to a Roman. As for Sylla, some commended his lofty behaviour to the barbarians; while others blamed it, as insolent, and out of season.

It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian,* in the train of Orobazus, looked at Sylla's face, and observed very attentively the turn of his ideas, and the motions of his body. These he compared with the rules of his art, and then declared, "That he must infallibly be one day the greatest of men; and that it was strange he could bear to be any thing less at present."

At his return, Censorinus prepared to accuse him of extortion, for drawing, contrary to law, vast sums from a kingdom that was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however bring it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afresh on the following occasion: Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome, and to Sylla at the same time, was so officious as to dedicate several images of Victory in the Capitol, and close by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digest the affront, prepared to pull them down, and

* Of Chalcis the metropolis of Chalcidene in Syria; if Plutarch did not rather write Chaldæan.

Sylla's friends were determined to hinder it. Between them both the whole city was set in a flame, when the confederate war, which had long lain smothered, broke out, and for the present put a stop to the sedition.

In this great war, which was so various in its fortune, and brought so many mischiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the small execution Marius did, that Military skill requires a strong and vigorous constitution to second it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed so many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greatest in the world, and his enemies as the most fortunate. Nor did he behave, with respect to that notion, like Timotheus the son of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian ascribed all his success to fortune, and got a picture drawn, in which he was represented asleep, and fortune by his side taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way to an indecent passion, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return from a certain expedition, he addressed the people in these terms :....." My fellow-citizens, you must acknowledge that in this fortune has no share." It is said, the goddess piqued herself so far on being revenged on this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do any thing extraordinary afterwards, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became so obnoxious to the people, that they banished him.

Sylla took a different course. It not only gave him pleasure to hear his success imputed to fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added an air of greatness, and even divinity, to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real persuasion of its truth, we cannot say. However, he writes in his Commentaries, "That his instantaneous resolutions, and enterprises executed in a manner different from what he had intended, always succeeded better than those on which he had bestowed the most time and forethought." It is plain too, from that saying of his, "That he was born rather for fortune than war," that he attributed more to fortune than to valour. In short, he makes himself entirely the creature of fortune, since he ascribes to her divine influence the good understanding that always subsisted between him and Metellus, a man in the same sphere of life with himself,

and his father-in-law: For, whereas he expected to find him a man troublesome in office, he proved on the contrary a quiet and obliging colleague. Add to this, that in the commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, he advises him to depend upon nothing more than that which heaven directed him to in the visions of the night. He tells us farther, that when he was sent at the head of an army against the confederates, the earth opened on a sudden near Laverna:* and that there issued out of the chasm, which was very large, a vast quantity of fire, and a flame that shot up to the heavens. The soothsayers being consulted upon it, made answer, "That a person of courage and superior beauty, should take the reins of government into his hands, and suppress the tumults with which Rome was then agitated." Sylla says, he was the man; for that his locks of gold were sufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed not hesitate, after so many great actions, to avow himself a man of courage. Thus much concerning his confidence in the gods.

In other respects he was not so consistent with himself. Rapacious in a high degree, but still more liberal; in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable; submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who wanted services from him: so that it was hard to say whether he was more insolent, or more servile in his nature. Such was his inconsistency in punishing, that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures on the slightest grounds and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes; he would easily take some persons into favour after the most unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others for small and trifling faults, by death and confiscation of goods. These things can be no otherwise reconciled, than by concluding that he was severe and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations, where his own interest was concerned.

In this very war with the confederates, his soldiers dispatched with clubs and stones a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honoured with the prætorship; yet he suffered them, after such a crime to escape with impunity. He only took occasion from thence to boast, that he

* In the Salarian way there was a grove and temple consecrated to the goddess Laverna.

should find they would exert themselves more during the rest of the war, because they would endeavour to atone for that offence by extraordinary acts of valour. The censure he incurred on this occasion did not affect him. His great object was the destruction of Marius, and finding that the confederate war was drawing towards an end,* he paid his court to the army, that he might be appointed general against Marius. Upon his return to Rome he was elected consul with Quinctus Pompeius, being then fifty years old, and at the same time he entered into an advantageous marriage with Cæcilia daughter of Metellus the high-priest. This match occasioned a good deal of popular censure. Sarcastical songs were made upon it; and, according to Livy's account, many of the principal citizens invidiously thought him unworthy of that alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the consulship. This lady was not his first wife, for in the early part of his life, he married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter: afterwards he espoused Elia, and after her Cœlia, whom, on account of her barrenness, he repudiated, without any other marks of disgrace, and dismissed with valuable presents. However, as he soon after married Metella, the dismission of Cœlia became the object of censure. Metella he always treated with the utmost respect; insomuch that when the people of Rome were desirous that he should recal the exiles of Marius's party, and could not prevail with him, they entreated Metella to use her good offices for them. It was thought, too, that when he took Athens, that city had harder usage, because the inhabitants had jested vilely on Metella from the walls. But these things happened afterwards.

The consulship was now but of small consideration with him in comparison of what he had in view. His heart was fixed on obtaining the conduct of the Mithridatic war. In this respect he had a rival in Marius, who was possessed with an ill-timed ambition and madness for fame, passions which never grow old. Though now unwieldly in his person, and obliged, on account of his age, to give up his share in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in

* In the year of Rome six-hundred and sixty-five.

Rome, when Sylla was gone to the camp to settle some matters that remained unfinished, framed that fatal sedition which hurt her more essentially than all the wars she had ever been engaged in. Heaven sent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of its own accord from the ensign staves, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their nests. Some rats having gnawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the sacristans caught one of them in a trap; where she brough forth five young ones, and eat three of them. And what was most considerable, one day when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it the sound of a trumpet, so loud, so shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The Tuscan sages said it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world; For they observed that there were eight several kinds of men, all different in life and manners: That heaven had allotted each its time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year: and that, when one came to a period, and another race was rising, it was announced by some wonderful sign either from earth or from heaven. So that it was evident at one view to those who attended to these things, and were versed in them, that a new sort of men was come into the world, with other manners and customs, and more or less the care of the gods than those who preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages, many strange alterations happened: that divination, for instance, should be held in great honour in some one age, and prove successful in all its predictions, because the Deity afforded pure and perfect signs to proceed by; whereas in another it should be in small repute, being mostly extemporaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obscure principles. Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the Tuscan soothsayers. While the senate were attending to their interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow, in sight of the whole body, brought in a grashopper in her mouth, and after she had torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off. The diviners declared, they apprehended from this a dangerous sedition and dispute between the town and the country; For the inhabitants of the town are noisy like the gras-

hopper, and those of the country are domestic beings like the sparrow.*

Soon after this Marius got Sulpitius to join him. This man was inferior to none in desperate attempts. Indeed, instead of inquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you must ask in what instance of wickedness he exceeded himself. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice, and he could commit the most horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood. He sold the freedom of Rome openly to persons that had been slaves, as well as to strangers, and had the money told out upon a table in the *forum*. He had always about him a guard of three hundred men well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his Anti-senate. Though he got a law made that no senator should contract debts to the amount of more than two thousand drachmas, yet it appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions. This wretch was let loose upon the people by Marius and carried all before him by dint of sword. Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was, that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to Marius. Upon this the consuls ordered all the courts to be shut up. But one day as they were holding an assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he set his ruffians upon them, and many were slain. The son of Pompey the consul, who was yet but a youth, was of the number. Pompey concealed himself, and saved his life. Sylla was pursued into the house of Marius, and forced from thence to the *forum*, to revoke the order for cessation of public business. For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the war with Mithridates to Marius. In consequence of this, he immediately sent some military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army at the hands of Sylla,

* The original is obscure and imperfect in this place: consequently corrupt. It stands thus: φωνεντα γαρ τετονειναι, καθαπερ τεττιγα· τες δε χωριτας, αγροικους. Bryan says it should be restored from the manuscript thus:....καθαπερ ερεθον τες δε χωριτας, αγροικους καθαπερ τεττιγας. According to this, the sense will be the reverse of the text....*The inhabitants of the town are noisy like the sparrow, and those of the country frequent the fields like the grashopper.*

There is, indeed, an anonymus manuscript, which gives us that reading.

and bring it to Marius. But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his soldiers were no sooner acquainted with the commission of those officers, than they stoned them to death.

Marius in return dipt his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houses to be plundered. Nothing now was to be seen but hurry and confusion, some flying from the camp to the city, and some from the city to the camp. The senate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius. So that when they were informed that Sylla was marching towards Rome, they sent two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to stop him. As they delivered their orders with some haughtiness to Sylla, the soldiers prepared to kill them; but at last contented themselves with breaking their fasces, tearing off their robes, and sending them away with every mark of disgrace.

The very sight of them, robbed as they were of the ensigns of their authority, spread sorrow and consternation in Rome, and announced a sedition, for which there was no longer either restraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of six complete legions, and had his colleague along with him. His army, he saw, was ready at the first word to march to Rome, but he was unresolved in his own mind and apprehensive of the danger. However, upon his offering sacrifice, the soothsayer Posthumius had no sooner inspected the entrails, than he stretched out both his hands to Sylla, and proposed to be kept in chains till after the battle, in order for the worst of punishments, if every thing did not soon succeed entirely to the general's wish. It is said too, that there appeared to Sylla in a dream, the goddess whose worship the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She seemed to stand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by name one after another, bade him strike them: they fell, and were consumed by it to ashes. Encouraged by this vision, which he related next morning to his colleague, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ,* he was met by an embassy, that entreated him not to advance in that hostile

* There being no place between Nola and Rome called Picinæ Lubinus thinks we should read Pictæ, which was a place of public entertainment about twenty-five miles from the capital. Strabo and Antoninus (in his Itinerary) mention it as such.

manner, since the senate had come to a resolution to do him all the justice he could desire. He promised to grant all they asked; and, as if he intended to encamp there, ordered his officers as usual, to mark out the ground. The ambassadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honour. But as soon as they were gone, he dispatched Basillus and Caius Mummius to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsquiline Mount. He himself followed with the utmost expedition. Accordingly Basillus and his party seized the gate, and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and seeing the opposition his soldiers met with, called out to them to set fire to the houses. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced befor them. At the same time he ordered his archers to shoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him; passion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies were all he thought of; and in the thirst for vengeance, he made no account of his friends, nor took the least compassion on his relations. Such was the case, when he made his way with fire, which makes no distinction between the innocent and guilty.

Meanwhile, Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to the slaves that would repair to his standard. But the enemy pressed on with so much vigour, that he was forced to quit the city.

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius, and a few others, condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, and brought to the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius he set a price upon his head; in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, since he had not long before fled into the house of Marius, and put his life in his hands, and yet was dismissed in safety. Had Marius, instead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius, who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute master of Rome. But he spared his enemy; and a few days after, when there was an opportunity for his return, met not with the same generous treatment.

The senate did not express the concern which this gave them. But the people openly, and by acts, showed their

resentment and resolution to make reprisals. For they rejected his nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius, in an ignominious manner, and appointed others to the consulship, whose promotion they thought would be most disagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great satisfaction at the thing, and said, "He was quite happy to see the people by his means enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he proposed Lucius Cinna, who was of the opposite faction, for consul, but first laid him under the sanction of a solemn oath, to assist him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand. There he swore before all the world, to preserve the friendship between them inviolable, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any breach of it, may I be driven from the city, as this stone is from my hand!" at the same time he threw the stone upon the ground. Yet as soon as he was entered upon his office, he began to raise new commotions, and set up an impeachment against Sylla, of which Verginius, one of the tribunes, was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him, and set forward against Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla set sail from Italy, Mithridates, we are told, was visited with many ill presages at Pergamus. Among the rest an image of victory, bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke just as it was going to put the crown upon his head, and the crown itself was dashed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The people of Pergamus were seized with astonishment, and Mithridates felt no small concern, though his affairs then prospered beyond his hopes: For he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their respective kings, and was sat down in quiet at Pergamus, disposing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at leisure. As for his sons, the eldest governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus, extending as far as the deserts above the Mæotic lake: the other, named Ariarathes, was subduing Thrace and Macedonia with a great army. His generals with their armies were reducing other considerable places. The principal of these were Archelaus, who commanded the seas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades, and all the

other islands within the bay of Malea, and was master of Eubœa itself. He met, indeed, with some check at Chæronea. There Brutius Sura, lieutenant to Sentius who commanded in Macedonia, a man distinguished by his courage and capacity, opposed Archelaus, who was overflowing Bœotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Chæronea, and confined him again to the sea. But as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered him to give place to Sylla, to whom that province, and the conduct of the war there was decreed, he immediately quitted Bœotia, and returned to Sentius, though his success was beyond all that he could have flattered himself with, and Greece was ready to declare again for the Romans on account of his valour and conduct. It is true, these were the most shining actions of Brutius's life

When Sylla was arrived, the cities sent ambassadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by its tyrant Aristion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmost vigour, invested the Piræus, brought up all sorts of engines, and left no kind of assault whatever unattemtped. Had he waited a while, he might without the least danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But his haste to return to Rome, where he apprehended some change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every risk, and spare neither men nor money, to bring this war to a conclusion. For, besides his other warlike equipage, he had ten thousand yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reason of the immense weight which broke down his machines, or their being burnt by the enemy, he cut down the sacred groves. The shady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum in the suburbs fell before his ax. And as the war required vast sums of money to support it, he scrupled not to violate the holy treasures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, as well as Olympia, the most beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote also to the Amphictyones at Delphi, "That it would be best for them to put the treasures of Apollo in his hands: for either he would keep them safer than they could; or, if he applied them to his own use, would return the full value." Caphis the Phocian, one of his friends, was sent upon this commission, and ordered to have every thing weighed to him.

Caphis went to Delphi, but was loth to touch the sacred deposits, and lamented to the Amphictyones the necessity he was under, with many tears. Some said, they heard the sound of the lyre in the inmost sanctuary; and Caphis, either believing it, or willing to strike Sylla with a religious terror, sent him an account of it. But he wrote back in a jesting way, "That he was surprised Caphis should not know that music was the voice of joy, and not of resentment. He might, therefore, boldly take the treasures, since Apollo gave him them with the utmost satisfaction."

These treasures were carried off, without being seen by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offerings, there remained a silver urn, which being so large and heavy, that no carriage could bear it, the Amphictyones were obliged to cut it in pieces. At sight of this, they called to mind one while Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and another while Paulus Æmilius; one of which having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others subdued the kings of Macedonia, not only kept their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but expressed their regard and reverence for them by adding new gifts. Those great men, indeed, were legally commissioned, and their soldiers were persons of sober minds who had learnt to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals with the magnanimity of kings, exceeded not private persons in their expences, nor brought upon the state any charge but what was common and reasonable. In short, they thought it no less disgrace to flatter their own men than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these times raised themselves to high posts by force, not by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen, rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with great complaisance. While they thus bought their services, at the price of ministering to their vices, they were not aware that they were selling their country; and making themselves slaves to the meanest of mankind, in order to command the greatest and the best. This banished Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought him back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the first sources of this corruption. For, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he

lavishly supplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the same means he was inviting the former to desertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occasion for infinite sums, and particularly in this siege. For his passion for taking Athens was irresistibly violent: whether it was that he wanted to fight against that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the shadow now remained; or whether he could not bear the scoffs and taunts, with which Aristion, in all the wantonness of ribaldry, insulted him and Metella from the walls.

The composition of this tyrant's heart was insolence and cruelty. He was the sink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies, and seditions, perished at last by this monster, as by a deadly disease. A bushel * of wheat was now sold there for a thousand drachmas. The people eat not only the herbs and roots that grew about the citadel, but sodden leather and oil bags; while he was indulging himself in riotous feasts and dancings in the daytime, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He let the sacred lamp of the goddess go out for want of oil; and when the principal priestess sent to ask him for half a measure of barley, he sent her that quantity of pepper. The senators and priests came to intreat him to take compassion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a shower of arrows. At last, when it was too late, he agreed with much difficulty to send two or three of the companions of his riots to treat of peace. These instead of making any proposals that tended to save the city, talked in a lofty manner about Theseus, and Eumolpus, and the conquest of the Medes; which provoked Sylla to say, "Go, my noble souls, and take back your fine speeches with you. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to learn its antiquities, but to chastise its rebellious people."

In the mean time, Sylla's spies heard some old men, who were conversing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not securing the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. They carried this news to Sylla; and he, far from disregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found

* Medimnus. See the table.

that it might be scaled. He then set immediately about it; and he tells us in his Commentaries, that Marcus Teius* was the first man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with an adversary, and gave him such a violent blow on the skull, that he broke his sword; notwithstanding which he stood firm and kept his place.

Athens,† therefore, was taken, as the old men had foretold. Sylla having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piræan gate and that called the Sacred, entered the town at midnight, in a manner the most dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and were answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers, let loose to plunder and destroy. They rushed along the streets with drawn swords, and horrible was the slaughter they made. The number of the killed could not be computed; but we may form some judgment of it, by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood. For, beside those that fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place only, covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dipylus. Nay, there are several who assure us it ran through the gates, and overspread the suburbs.

But though such numbers were put to the sword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themselves, in grief for their sinking country. What reduced the best men among them to this despair of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by the intercession of Midias and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themselves at his feet, partly by the entreaties of the senators who attended him in that expedition, and being himself satiated with blood besides, he was at last prevailed upon to stop his hand; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he said "He forgave the many for the sake of the few, the living for the dead."

He tells us in his Commentaries, that he took Athens on the kalends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the month Anthesterion: when the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the destruction of the

* Probably it should be Ateius. In the life of Crassus one Ateius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

† Athens was taken 84 years before the birth of Christ.

country by water; for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year.*

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was beseiged there by Curio, to whom Sylla gave that charge. He held out a considerable time, but at last was forced to surrender for want of water. In this the hand of Heaven was very visible. For the very same day and hour that Aristion was brought out, the sky, which before was perfectly serene, grew black with clouds, and such a quantity of rain fell, as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon after this, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus; the most of which he laid in ashes, and among the rest, that admirable work, the arsenal built by Philo.

During these transactions, Taxiles, Mithridates's general, came down from Thrace and Macedonia, with a hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes, and sent to desire Archelaus to meet him. Archelaus had then his station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea, nor yet fight the Romans, but was persuaded his point was to protract the war, and cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla saw better than he the distress he might be in for provisions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which was scarce sufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Bœotia. Most people thought this an error in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica, where horse could hardly act, and to expose himself on the large and open plains of Bœotia, when he knew the chief strength of the barbarians consisted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced, as we have observed, to hazard a battle. Besides, he was in pain for Hortensius, a man of a great and enterprising spirit, who was bringing him a considerable reinforcement from Thessaly, and was watched by the barbarians in the straits. These were the reasons which induced Sylla to march into Bœotia. As for Hortensius, Caphis, a countryman of ours, led him another way, and disappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by Mount Parnassus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was then only a fort situated on the brow of a steep precipice, where the Phocians of old took

* The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near seventeen hundred years before.

refuge when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortensius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy, and in the night made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took possession of a fertile hill, in the middle of the plains of Elateia, well sheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It is called Philobœotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulness of its soil and its agreeable situation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy no more than a handful. They had not indeed above fifteen hundred horse, and not quite fifteen thousand foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horses, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of so many nations, ranked thick together, seemed to rend the sky; and the pomp and splendour of their appearance was not without its use in exciting terror. For the lustre of their arms, which were richly adorned with gold and silver, and the colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermixed with brass and polished steel, when the troops were in motion, kindled the air with an awful flame like that of lightning.

The Romans, in great consternation, shut themselves up within their trenches. Sylla could not with all his arguments remove their fears; and, as he did not choose to force them into the field in this dispirited condition, he sat still, and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boasts and insults of the barbarians. This was of more service to him than any other measure he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in great contempt, and were not before very obedient to their own generals, by reason of their number, now forgot all discipline; and but few of them remained within their intrenchments..... Invited by rapine and plunder, the greatest part had dispersed themselves, and were got several days journey from the camp. In these excursions, it is said, they ruined the city of Panopea, sacked Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered, without orders from any one of their generals.

Sylla, full of sorrow and indignation to have these cities destroyed before his eyes, was willing to try what effect

labour would have upon his soldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, to draw the Cephisus from its channel, and made them work at it without intermission; standing inspector himself, and severely punishing all whom he found remiss. His view in this was to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it answered the end he proposed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla passed by, they called out to him to lead them against the enemy. Sylla said, "It is not any inclination to fight, but an unwillingness to work, that puts you upon this request. If you really want to come to an engagement, go, sword in hand, and seize that post immediately." At the same time he pointed to the place, where had formerly stood the citadel of the Paropotamians but all the buildings were now demolished, and there was nothing left but a craggy and steep mountain, just separated from mount Edylium by the river Assus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephisus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a safe place for an encampment. Sylla seeing those of the enemy's troops called *Calcaspides*, hastening to seize that post, wanted to gain it before them, and by availing himself of the present spirit of his men, he succeeded. Archelaus, upon this disappointment, turned his arms against Chæronea: The inhabitants, in consequence of their former connections with Sylla, entreated him not to desert the place; upon which he sent along with them the military tribune Gabinius with one legion. The Chæroneans, with all their ardour to reach their city, did not arrive sooner than Gabinius. Such was his honour when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipsed the zeal of those who implored his assistance. Juba tells us, that it was not Gabinius but Ericius,* who was dispatched on this occasion. In this critical situation, however, was the city of Chæronea.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles, that promised victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many stories about them; but what Sylla himself writes, in the tenth book of his commentaries, is this: Quintus Titius, a man of some note among the Romans employed in Greece,

* It is probable it should be read Hirtius; for so some manuscripts have it, where the same person is mentioned again afterwards.

came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chæronea, and told him, that Trophonius foretold another battle to be fought shortly in the same place, in which he should likewise prove victorious. After him came a private soldier of his own, with a promise from heaven of the glorious success that would attend his affairs in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which these prophecies were communicated: they said the deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majesty resembled the Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had passed the Assus, he encamped under Mount Edylium, over against Archelaus, who had strongly intrenched himself between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Assia. That spot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla passed one day without attempting any thing. The day following, he left Muræna with a legion and two cohorts, to harrass the enemy, who were already in some disorder, while he himself went and sacrificed on the banks of the Cephisus. After the ceremony was over he proceeded to Chæronea, to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a post which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we express in our language by the term *Orthopagus*. At the foot of it runs the river Morius,* and by it stands the temple of Apollo Thurius. Apollo is so called from Thuro the mother of Chæron, who, as history informs us, was the founder of Chæronea. Others say, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide, first presented herself there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chæronea, the tribune who had the city in charge, led out his troops to meet him, having himself a crown of laurel in his hands. Just as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterprise, Homoloicus and Anaxidamus, two Chæroneans addressed him, with a promise to cut off the corps that occupied Thurium, if he would give them a small party to support them in the attempt: For there was a path which the barbarians were not apprised of, leading

* This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muses, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; from whence it was easy either to destroy them with stones, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding the character of these men for courage and fidelity supported by Gabinius, ordered them to put the thing in execution..... Meantime he drew up his forces and placed the cavalry in the wings; taking the right himself, and giving the left to Muræna. Gallus* and Hortensius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reserve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights, to prevent their being surrounded. For it was easy to see that the enemy were preparing with their wings, which consisted of an infinite number of horse, and all their light-armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away at pleasure, to take a circuit, and quite inclose the Roman army.

In the mean time, the two Chæroneans, supported, according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericius, stole unobserved up Thurium, and gained the summit. As soon as they made their appearance, the barbarians were struck with consternation, and sought refuge in flight; but in the confusion many of them perished by means of each other: For, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the steep mountain, they fell upon the spears of those that were next before them, or else pushed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy were pressing upon them from above, and galling them behind; insomuch that three thousand men were killed upon Thurium. As to those who got down, some fell into the hands of Muræna, who met them in good order, and easily cut them in pieces; others who fled to the main body, under Archelaus, wherever they fell in with it, filled it with terror and dismay; and this was the thing that gave the officers most trouble, and principally occasioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their disorder, moved with such vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief strength of those chariots consists in the course they run, and in the impetuosity consequent upon it; and if they have but a short compass they are as insignificant as arrows sent from a bow not well

* Guarin, after Appian's *Mithrid.* reads *Galba.* And so it is in several manuscripts. Dacier proposes to read *Balbus*, which name occurs afterwards.

drawn. This was the case at present with respect to the barbarians. Their chariots moved at first so slow, and their attacks were so lifeless, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmost ridicule. They even called for fresh ones, as they used to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The barbarians, for their part, tried what the long pikes would do; and, by locking their shields together, endeavoured to keep themselves in good order. As for the Romans, after their spears had had all the effect that could be expected from them, they drew their swords and met the scimitars of the enemy with a strength which a just indignation inspires. For Mithridates's generals had brought over fifteen thousand slaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry; on which occasion, a certain centurion is said thus to have expressed himself:....." Surely these are the *Saturnalia*; for we never saw slaves have any share of liberty at another time." However, as their ranks were so close, and their file so deep, that they could not easily be broken; and as they exerted a spirit which could not be expected from them, they were not repulsed and put in disorder till the archers and slingers of the second line discharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus was now extending his right wing, in order to surround the Romans, and Hortensius, with the cohorts under his command, pushed down to take him in flank. But Archelaus, by a sudden manœuvre, turned against him with two thousand horse whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him towards the mountains; so that being separated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, pushed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to the assistance of Hortensius. On the other hand, Archelaus, conjecturing, from the dust that flew, about, the real state of the case, left Hortensius, and hastened back to the right of the Roman army, from whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the same time Taxiles led on the *Chalcaspides* against Muræna, so that shouts were set up on both sides, which were re-echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now stopped to consider which way he should direct his course.

At length concluding to return to his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to the assistance of Muræna, and himself with the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmost expedition. He found that without him it kept a good countenance against the troops of Archelaus; but as soon as he appeared, his men made such prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and pursued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidst this success, Sylla was not unmindful of Muræna's danger, but hastened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but to join in the pursuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and still greater as they were endeavouring to gain their intrenchments; so that out of so many myriads only ten thousand men reached Chalcis. Sylla says, he missed only fourteen of his men, and two of these came up in the evening. For this reason he inscribed his trophies *to Mars, to Victory, and Venus*, to show that he was no less indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am speaking of was erected for the victory won on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, was inscribed in Greek characters *to the valour of Homoloicus and Anaxidamas*.

He exhibited games on this occasion at Thebes, in a theatre erected for that purpose near the fountain of Oedipus.* But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reason of the implacable hatred he bore the Thebans. He deprived them of half their territories, which he consecrated to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter; leaving orders that out of their revenues the money should be repaid which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the opposite faction, was elected consul, and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence against Mithridates, but in reality against him. He therefore

* Pausanias tells us this fountain was so called, because Oedipus there washed off the blood he was stained with in the murder of his father.

marched into Thessaly to meet him. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from several quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waste by another army of the king's superior to the former. Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over eighty thousand men, of the best equipped and best disciplined troops of Mithridates. With these he entered Bœotia, and made himself master of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonstrated against that measure, but Dorylaus was so far from regarding him, that he scrupled not to assert, that so many myriads of men could not have been lost without treachery. But Sylla soon turned back, and showed Dorylaus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper sense its author had of the Roman valour. Indeed, Dorylaus himself, after some slight skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphosium, was the first to agree that action was not the thing to be pursued any longer, but that the war was to be spun out, and decided at last by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being most advantageous for those whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, gave fresh spirits to Archelaus. For of all the plains of Bœotia the largest and most beautiful is this, which, without either tree or bush, extends itself from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loses itself. That river rises under the walls of the city just mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from its source About the summer solstice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the same nature; only they are meagre and bear but little fruit. Its course is short, great part of it soon stopping in those dark and muddy fens. The rest falls into the river Cephisus, about the place where the water is bordered with such excellent canes for flutes.

The two armies being encamped opposite each other, Archelaus attempted not any thing. But Sylla began to cut trenches in several parts of the field, that he might, if possible, drive the enemy from the firm ground, which was so suitable for cavalry, and force them upon the morasses. The barbarians could not bear this, but upon the first signal from their generals, rode up at full speed, and handled the labourers so rudely, that they all dispersed. The corps too, designed to support them, was put to flight.

Sylla that moment leaped from his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and pushed through the middle of the fugitives towards the enemy, crying out, "Here Romans, is the bed of honour I am to die in. Do you, when you are asked where you betrayed your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." These words stopped them in their flight: besides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his assistance, and at the head of this united corpse he repulsed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little to give his troops some refreshment; after which he brought them to work again, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the barbarians. Hereupon they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, son-in-law to Archelaus, fell gloriously as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers were charged so close by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows, and therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they used instead of swords, and with them killed several of their adversaries. At last, however, they were broken and shut up in their camp, where they passed the night in great misery on account of their dead and wounded. Next morning Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the barbarians came out to engage him, he attacked and routed them so effectually, that, in the terror they were in, none stood to guard the camp, and he entered it with them.....The fens were then filled with the blood of the slain, and the lake with dead bodies; insomuch that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of iron breastplates, and swords are found buried in the mud, though it is almost two hundred years since that battle. Such is the account we have of the actions at Chæronea and Orchomenus.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with so much rigour and injustice at Rome to persons of the greatest distinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a safe harbour; so that in a little time he had a kind of senate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, stole from Rome with his children, and came to tell him, that his enemies had burnt his house and all his villas, and to entreat him to return home where his help was so much wanted. He was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither choosing to neglect his afflicted coun-

try, nor knowing how to go and leave such an important object as the Mithridatic war in so unfinished a state, when he was addressed by a merchant of Delium, called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted to sound him about an accomodation, and to treat privately of the conditions of it.

Sylla was so charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with the general. Their interview was on the sea-coast near Delium, where stands a celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus proposed that Sylla should quit the Asiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war, engaging on the kings behalf to supply him with money, vessels, and troops. Sylla proposed in answer, that Archelaus should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of an ally to the Roman, and put the king's shipping in his hands. When Archelaus expressed his detestation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded: "Is it possible, then, that you Archelaus, a Cappadocian, the slave, or, if you please, the friend of a barbarous king, should be shocked at a proposal, which, however in some respects exceptionable, must be attended with the most advantageous consequences? Is it possible that to me, the Roman general, to Sylla, you should take upon you to talk of treachery?.....As if you were not that same Archelaus, who at Chæronea fled with a handful of men, the poor remains of an hundred and twenty thousand, who hid himself two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the roads of Bœotia blocked up with heaps of dead bodies."....Upon this Archelaus had recourse to entreaty, and begged at last a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions.... Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. He was to allow the Romans two thousand talents to defray the expence of the war, besides seventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla, on the other hand, was to secure Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and procure him the title of friend and ally to the Romans.

These conditions being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont. Archelaus who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect, and when he happened to fall sick

at Larissa, Sylla halted there for some time, and showed him all the attention he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his colleague himself. This circumstance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little suspected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the suspicion was, the restoring of all the prisoners of Mithridates except Aristion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who was taken off by poison. But what confirmed the whole, was the cession of ten thousand acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his Commentaries, obviates all these censures.

During his stay at Larissa, he received an embassy from Mithridates, entreating him not to insist upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and representing that the demand of shipping was inadmissible. Sylla heard these remonstrances with indignation....."What," said he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and refuse to send the vessels I demanded? Mithridates, whom I should have expected to entreat me on his knees that I would spare that right hand which had slain so many Romans..... But I am satisfied that, when I return to Asia, he will change his style. While he resides at Pergamus, he can direct at ease the war he has not seen." The ambassadors were struck dumb with this indignant answer, while Archelaus endeavoured to sooth and appease the anger of Sylla, by every mitigating expression, and bathing his hand with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to send him to Mithridates, assuring him that he would obtain his consent to all the articles, or perish in the attempt.

Sylla upon this assurance dismissed him, and invaded Medica, where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedonia. He received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed him that he had succeeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that Mithridates was extremely desirous of an interview. His reason for it was this: Fimbria, who had slain the consul Flaccus, one of the heads of the opposite faction, and defeated the king's generals, was now marching against Mithridates himself. Mithridates alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendship with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with two hundred galleys, an army of twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had no more than four cohorts and two hundred horse. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla first asked him, "Whether he would stand to the conditions that Archelaus had settled with him?" The king hesitated upon it, and Sylla then said, "It is for petitioners to speak first, and for conquerors to hear in silence." Mithridates then began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologise for himself, by throwing the blame partly upon the gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him....." I have often," said he, "heard that Mithridates was a good orator, but now I know it by experience, since he has been able to give a colour to such unjust and abominable deeds." Then he set forth in bitter terms, and in such a manner as could not be replied to, the king's shameful conduct, and in conclusion asked him again, "Whether he would abide by the conditions settled with Archelaus?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and saluted him. Then he presented to him the two kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomades, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him seventy of his ships and five hundred archers, sailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace: they thought it an unsufferable thing, that a prince who, of all the kings in the universe, was the bitterest enemy to Rome; who had caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be murdered in Asia in one day, should go off with the wealth and spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and oppressing full four years. But he excused himself to them by observing, that they should never have been able to carry on the war against both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira; and having marked out a camp very near him, he began upon the intrenchment. The soldiers of Fimbria came out in their vests, and saluted those of Sylla, and readily assisted them in their work. Fimbria seeing this desertion, and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, dispatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents; and besides this, the houses of private persons were ruined by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them: for he commanded every householder to give the soldier who lodged with him sixteen drachmas a-day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have fifty drachmas a-day, and one dress to wear within doors, and another in public.

These things settled, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbour of Piræus the third day. At Athens he got himself initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from that city he took with him the library of Apellicon and Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not sufficiently known to the world. When they were brought to Rome, it is said that Tyranio the grammarian prepared many of them for publication,* and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, did actually publish them, together with those indexes that are now in every body's hands. The old Peripatetics appear indeed to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, nor were those they did meet with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus left his works, fell into mean and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the *lisping of the gout*. This obliged him to sail to Ædepsus, for the benefit of the warm baths, where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons and all the train of Bacchus. One day as he was walking by the sea-side, some fishermen presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people of what country they were, and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any of the Alæans alive?" for in pursuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had raised three cities of Bœotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alæ. The poor men were struck dumb with fear, but he told them with a smile,

* The Latin interpreter renders ἐνσκευάσασθαι *intervirtisse*, and Dacier *detourna*, both which signify *converted to his own use*. But they are certainly wrong. Ἀποσκευάσασθαι has that sense. Besides Cicero and Strabo give Tyrannio a character that sets him above any meanness.

"They might go away quite happy, for they had brought very respectable mediators with them." The Alæans tell us, that from that time they took courage, and re-established themselves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, passed through Thessaly and Macedonia to the sea, intending to cross over from Dyrrachium to Brundusium, with a fleet of twelve hundred sail. In that neighbourhood stands Appollonia, near which is a remarkable spot of ground called Nymphæum.* The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interspersed with springs from which continually issues fire. In this place we are told, a satyr was taken asleep, exactly such as statuaries and painters represent to us. He was brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he was; but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harsh and inarticulate, something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was shocked with his appearance, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence.

When he was upon the point of embarking with his troops, he began to be afraid, that as soon as they reached Italy, they would disperse and retire to their respective cities. Hereupon they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they should stand by him to the last, and no twilfully do any damage to Italy. And as they saw he would want large sums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it to him. He did not, however, receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraged them to hope the best, he set sail. He had to go, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals of the other party, who had under them no less than two hundred and fifty cohorts. But heaven gave him evident tokens of success. He sacrificed immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, and the liver of the victim had the plain impression † of a crown of laurel, with two strings hanging down. A little

* In this place the Nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of consulting which, Dion (l. 41.) tells us several ridiculous stories. Strabo speaking of it in his seventh book, tells us the Nymphæum is a rock, out of which issues fire, and that beneath it flow streams of flaming bitumen.

† The priests traced the figures they wanted upon the liver on their hands, and by holding it very close, easily made the impression upon it while it was warm and pliant.

before his passage, there were seen in the day-time upon Mount Hephæum* in Campania, two great he-goats engaged, which used all the movements that men do in fighting. The phenomenon raised itself by degrees from the earth into the air, where it dispersed itself in the manner of shadowy phantoms, and quite disappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the consul, with two very powerful bodies, presumed to attack Sylla; who, without any regular disposition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuosity of his soldiers, after having slain seven thousand of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to seek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This success he mentions as the cause why his soldiers did not desert, but despised the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an enthusiastic servant of Pontius, in the town of Silvium, announced him victorious, upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him at the same time, that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt....This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the sixth of July. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had no more than sixteen coherts under his command, found himself on the point of engaging an enemy who had fifty: though he had the utmost confidence in the valour of his troops, yet as many of them were without arms, he was doubtful about the onset. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighbouring field a quantity of flowers that fell on the shields and helmets of the soldiers in such a manner that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance had such an effect upon them,† that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed eighteen thousand, and became complete masters of

* There is no such mountain as Hephæum known. Livy mentions the hills of Tifata near Capua.

† The use that the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthusiasm and superstition; in war particularly, was so great and so frequent, that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native courage and valour. The slightest circumstance, as in the improbable instance referred to, of a preternatural kind, or bearing the least shadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to those exploits, which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them, without such influence they would never have undertaken.

the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus was brother to that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla still saw himself surrounded with armies and powerful enemies, to whom he was inferior in point of force, and therefore had recourse to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the consuls, some proposals for an accomodation, upon which many interviews and conferences ensued. But Sylla always finding some pretence for gaining time, was corrupting Scipio's soldiers all the while by means of his own, who were as well practised as their general in every art of solicitation. They entered their adversaries camp, and, mixing among them, soon gained them over some by money, some by fair promises, and others by the most insinuating adulation. At last Sylla advancing to their intrenchments with twenty cohorts, Scipio's men saluted them as fellow-soldiers, and came out and joined them; so that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately after dismissed in safety. These twenty cohorts were Sylla's decoy-birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them altogether into his camp. On this occasion Carbo is reported to have said, that in Sylla he had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the fox gave him the most trouble.

The year following, young Marius being consul, and at the head of fourscore cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it that day in particular, on account of a dream he had the night before. He thought he saw old Marius, who had now been long dead, advising his son to beware of the ensuing day, as big with mischief to him. This made Sylla impatient for the combat. The first step he took towards it was to send for Dolabella, who had encamped at some distance. The enemy had blocked up the roads; and Sylla's troops were much harassed in endeavouring to open them. Besides, a violent rain happened to fall, and still more incommoded them in their work. Hereupon the officers went and entreated Sylla to defer the battle till another day, showing him how his men were beaten out with fatigue, and seated upon the ground with their shields under them. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to intrench themselves.

They were just begun to put these orders in execution, when Marius rode boldly up in hopes of finding them dis-

persed and in great disorder. Fortune seized this moment for accomplishing Sylla's dream. His soldiers, fired with indignation, left their work, stuck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn swords and loud shouts ran to the charge. The enemy made but a slight resistance; they were routed, and vast numbers slain in their flight. Marius himself fled to Præneste, where he found the gates shut; but a rope was let down, to which he fastened himself, and so he was taken up over the wall.

Some authors indeed write, and amongst the rest Fenestalla, that Marius saw nothing of the battle, but that being oppressed with watching and fatigue, he laid himself down in a shade, after the signal was given, and was not awaked without difficulty when all was lost. Sylla says he lost only three and twenty men in this battle, though he killed ten thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. He was equally successful with respect to his lieutenants Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius, who without any miscarriage at all, or with none of any consequence, defeated great and powerful armies; insomuch that Carbo, who was the chief support of the opposite party, stole out of his camp by night, and passed over into Africa.

The last conflict Sylla had, was with Telesinus the Samnite, who entered the lists like a fresh champion, against one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Telesinus had collected a great body of forces, with the assistance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, and was hastening to the relief of Marius, who was besieged in Præneste. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing against him by long marches, the one to take him in front, and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmost danger of being hemmed in, both before and behind. In this case, like a man of great abilities, and experience of the most critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his whole army directly towards Rome; which was in so unguarded a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he stopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline Gate, and contented himself with passing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone so many great commanders in point of generalship.

Early next morning the young nobility mounted their horses, and fell upon him. He defeated them, and killed a considerable number; among the rest fell Appius Claudius, a young man of spirit, and of one of the most illustrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confusion....the women ran about the streets, bewailing themselves, as if it was just going to be taken by assault....when Balbus, who was sent before by Sylla, appeared advancing at full speed with seven hundred horse. He stopped just long enough to give his horses time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

In the mean time Sylla made his appearance, and having caused his first ranks to take a speedy refreshment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquates pressed him to wait some time, and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement that must prove decisive; for he had not now to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies to the Roman name. However, he overruled their motions, and ordered the trumpets to sound to the charge, though it was now so late as the tenth hour of the day. There was no battle during the whole war fought with such obstinacy as this. The right wing commanded by Crassus, had greatly the advantage; but the left was much distressed, and began to give way. Sylla made up to its assistance. He rode a white horse of uncommon spirit and swiftness; and two of the enemy, knowing him by it, levelled their spears at him. He himself perceived it not, but his groom did, and with a sudden lash made the horse spring forward, so that the spears only grazed his tail, and fixed themselves in the ground. It is said that in all his battles he wore in his bosom a small golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi. On this occasion he kissed it with particular devotion,* and addressed it in these terms:....."O Pythian Apollo, who hast conducted the fortunate Cornelius Sylla through so many engagements with honour; when thou hast brought him to the threshold of his country, wilt thou let him fall there inglorious by the hands of his own citizens?"

* By this it appears, that the heathens made the same use of the images of their gods, which the Romanists do of images and relics.

After this act of devotion, Sylla endeavoured to rally his men: some he entreated, some he threatened, and others he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having lost many of his friends of the highest distinction. A good number, too, of those who came out of the city to see the battle, were trodden under foot and perished. Nay, Rome itself was thought to be absolutely lost; and the siege of Prænestè, where Marius had taken up his quarters, near being raised. For after the defeat many of the fugitives repaired thither, and desired Lucretius Ofella, who had the direction of the siege, to quit it immediately, because (they said) Sylla was slain, and his enemies masters of Rome.

But the same evening, when it was quite dark, there came persons to Sylla's camp, on the part of Crassus, to desire refreshments for him and his soldiers: For he had defeated the enemy, and pursued them to Antemna, where he was sat down to besiege them. Along with this news, Sylla was informed that the greatest part of the enemy was cut off in the action. As soon, therefore, as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. There three thousand of the other faction sent deputies to him to intercede for mercy; and he promised them impunity, on condition that they would come to him after some notable stroke against the rest of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were slain by the hands of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla, however, collected these, and what was left of the others, to the number of six thousand, into the Circus: and at the same time assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his soldiers, as they had been ordered, fell upon those six-thousand poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of such a number of people massacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was very dreadful. The senators were struck with astonishment. But he with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his discourse, "Bade them attend to what he was saying, and not trouble themselves about what was doing without; for the noise they heard came only from some malefactors, whom he had ordered to be chastised."

It was evident from hence to the least discerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny; they had only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from the first was of a harsh and severe disposition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore prosperity with great moderation; though he seemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people; he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate that he often melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but cast a blemish upon power. On his account it was believed, that high honours and fortunes will not suffer mens manners to remain in their original simplicity, but that it begets in them insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce such a change of disposition, or whether it only displays the native badness of the heart, belongs however to another department of letters to inquire.

Sylla now turning himself to kill and to destroy, filled the city with massacres, which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many persons against whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At last one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put these questions to him in the senate..... "Tell us, Sylla, when we shall have an end of our calamities? how far thou wilt proceed, and when we may hope thou wilt stop? We ask thee not to spare those whom thou hast marked out for punishment, but we ask an exemption from anxiety for those whom thou hast determined to save." Sylla said, "He did not yet know whom he should save." "Then," replied Metellus, let us know whom thou intendest to destroy;" and Sylla answered, "He would do it." Some, indeed, ascribe the last reply to Aufidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proscribed eighty citizens, without consulting any of the magistrates in the least. And as the public expressed their indignation at this, the second day after this he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and as many on the third. Then he told the people from the *rostrum*, "He had now proscribed all that he remembered; and such as he had forgot, must come into some future proscription." Death was the punishment

he ordained for any one who should harbour or save a person proscribed, without excepting a brother, a son, or a parent! Such was to be the reward of humanity! But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it were a slave that killed his master, or a son his father! The most unjust circumstance, however, of all, seemed to be, that he declared the sons and grandsons of proscribed persons infamous, and confiscated their goods!

The lists were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither temple of the gods, nor paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hospitality, was any protection against murder. Husbands were dispatched in the bosoms of their wives, and sons in those of their mothers. And the sacrifices to resentment and revenge were nothing to those who fell on account of their wealth: So that it was a common saying among the ruffians, "His fine house was the death of such a one, his gardens of another, and his hot-baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man, who thought he could have no share in those miseries, but that which compassion gave him, came one day into the *forum*, and out of curiosity, read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own, however, among the rest, he cried out, "Wretch that I am! my Alban villa pursues me;" and he had not gone far, before a ruffian came up and killed him.

In the mean time young Marius being taken,* slew himself. Sylla then came to Præneste, where at first he tried the inhabitants, and had them executed singly. But afterwards finding he had not leisure for such formalities, he collected them to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be put to death, excepting only one who had formerly entertained him at his house. This man with a noble spirit told him, "He would never owe his life to the destroyer of his country;" and voluntarily mixing with the crowd, he died with his fellow-citizens! The strangest, however, of all his proceedings, was that with respect to Catiline. This wretch had killed his own brother during the civil war, and now he desired Sylla to put him among the proscribed, as a person still alive; which he

* He was not taken; but as he was endeavouring to make his escape by a subterraneous passage, he found it beset by Sylla's soldiers; whereupon he ordered one of his slaves to kill him.

made no difficulty of doing. Catiline, in return, went and killed one Marcus Marius, who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he sat upon his tribunal in the *forum*, and then washed his hands in the lustral water* at the door of Apollo's temple, which was just by.

These massacres were not the only things that afflicted the Romans. He declared himself dictator, reviving that office in his own favour, though there had been no instance of it for an hundred and twenty years. He got a decree of amnesty for all he had done: and, as to the future, it invested him with power of life and death, of confiscating, of colonizing, of building or demolishing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure. He exercised his power in such an insolent and despotic manner with regard to confiscated goods, that his applications of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiscations themselves. He gave to handsome prostitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and to the most wicked of his enfranchised slaves the revenues of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition to marry some of those ruffians.

He was desirous of an alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus, by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio, by whom she was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed, in the house of Pompey, her second husband.

Lucretius Ofello, who had besieged Marius in Præneste, now aspired to the consulship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla forbade him to proceed; and when he saw that in confidence of his interest with the people, he appeared notwithstanding in public as a candidate, he sent one of the centurions who attended him, to dispatch that brave man, while he himself sat on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murder. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. He commanded silence, and told them the thing was done by his order; the centurion was therefore to be dismissed immediately.

* Here is another instance of a Heathen custom adopted by the Romanists. An exclusion from the use of this holy water was considered by the Greeks as a sort of excommunication. We find Oedipus prohibiting it to the murderers of Laius. *Sophoc. Oedip.* Act ii. sc. 1.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the display of wealth, and of the royal spoils, which were a new spectacle; but that which crowned all, was the procession of the exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their saviour and father, because, by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a set speech to the people, and was no less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune, than those of his valour. He even concluded with an order, that for the future he should be called Felix (that is the Fortunate). But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to the applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus (*the favourite of Venice*). The inscription upon the trophies left among us, is, Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And to the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which, in the Roman language, signifies *auspicious and happy*.

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune, than in his achievements, was his laying down the dictatorship. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the constitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardiness to leave the people full power to choose consuls again; while he himself, without pretending to any direction of their suffrages, walked about the *forum* as a private man, and put it in the power of any person to take his life. In the first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterprising man, declared consul, not by his own interest, but by that of Pompey, who on this occasion exerted himself with the people. And when he saw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him, and said, "No doubt, young man, your politics are very excellent, since you have preferred Lepidus to Catulus, the worst and most stupid of men to the best. It is high time to awake and be upon your guard, now you have strengthened your adversary against yourself." Sylla spoke this from something like a prophetic spirit; for Lepidus soon acted with the utmost insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenths of his substance to Hercules. The provisions were so over-abundant, that a great quantity was thrown every day into the river; and the wine that was drank, was forty years old at least. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella, sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was in her body. His superstition made him very punctilious in observing these laws of the priests; but by giving into the utmost profusions, he transgressed a law of his own, which limited the expense of funerals. He broke in upon his own sumptuary law too, with respect to diet, by passing his time in the most extravagant banquets, and having recourse to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months after he presented the people with a show of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the best families, happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator Hortensius; her name Valeria; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her place. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity; when she said, "Wonder not, my lord, at what I have done; I had only a mind to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being displeased; on the contrary, it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably; For he sent to ask her name, and to enquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and smiles, which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame: But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things that are wont to excite the lowest of the passions.

Yet, notwithstanding he had married so extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actresses and fe-

male musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. His chief favourites at this time were Roscius the comedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius who used to act a woman's part; * These courses added strength to a distemper, that was but slight at the beginning; and for a long time he knew not that he had an abscess within him. This abscess corrupted his flesh, and turned it all into lice; so that, though he had many persons employed both day and night to clean him, the part taken away was nothing to that which remained. His whole attire, his baths, his basons, and his food were filled with that perpetual flux of vermine and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanse and purify himself, it was in vain: The corruption came on so fast, that it was impossible to overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acastus, the son of Pelias, died of this sickness; and of those that come nearer our times, Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes the Olynthian, who was kept in close prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And if after these we may take notice of a man who did not distinguish himself by any thing laudable, but was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled up the *Servile* war in Sicily, and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this disease.

Sylla not only foresaw his death, but has left something relating to it in his writings. He finished the twenty-second book of his Commentaries only two days before he died: and he tells us that the Chaldæans had predicted, that after a life of glory, he would depart in the height of his prosperity. He farther acquaints us, that his son, who died a little before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, dressed in a mean garment, and desired him to bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he should live at ease, and enjoy the charms of tranquillity. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled the contending parties at Puteoli,* and gave them a set of laws for the regulation of their police.

* In the Greek *Dichæarchia*, which is another name for *Puteoli*.

And the very day before he died, upon information that the quæstor Granius would not pay what he was indebted to the state, but waited for his death to avoid paying it at all, he sent for him into his apartment, planted his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him. The violence with which he spoke, strained him so much, that the imposthume broke, and he voided a vast quantity of blood. His strength now failed fast, and, after he had passed the night in great agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella; and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter called *Posthumia;* a name given of course by the Romans to such as are born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus; to prevent his having the usual honours of burial: But Pompey, though he was somewhat displeased at Sylla, because, of all his friends, he had left him only out of his will, in this case interposed his authority; and prevailed upon some by his interest and entreaties, and on others by menaces, to drop their opposition. Then he conveyed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral, not only with security, but with honour. Such was the quantity of spices brought in by the women, that exclusive of those carried in two hundred and ten great baskets, a figure of Sylla at full length, and of a *lictor* besides, was made entirely of cinnamon and the choicest frankincense. The day happened to be so cloudy, and the rain was so much expected, that it was about the ninth hour* before the corpse was carried out. However, it was no sooner laid upon the pile, than a brisk wind blew, and raised so strong a flame, that it was consumed immediately. But after the pile was burnt down, and the fire began to die out, a great rain fell which lasted till night. So that his good fortune continued to the last, and assisted at his funeral. His monument stands in the *Campus Martius;* and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himself, to this purport: "No friend ever did me so much good, or enemy so much harm, but I repaid him with interest."

* Three in the afternoon.

LYSANDER AND SYLLA

COMPARED.

WE have now gone through the life of Sylla, and will proceed to the comparison. This, then, Lysander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themselves for their rise. But Lysander has this advantage, that the high offices he gained were with the consent of the people, while the constitution of his country was in a sound and healthy state; and that he got nothing by force or by acting against the laws.....

In civil broils the worst of men may rise.

So it was then in Rome. The people were so corrupt, and the republic in so sickly a condition, that tyrants sprung up on every side. Nor is it any wonder if Sylla gained the ascendant, at a time when wretches like Glaucias and Saturninus expelled such men as Metellus; when the sons of consuls were murdered in the public assemblies; when men supported their seditious purposes with soldiers purchased with money, and laws were enacted with fire and sword, and every species of violence.*

In such a state of things, I do not blame the man who raised himself to supreme power; all I say is, that when the commonwealth was in so depraved and desperate a condition, power was no evidence of merit. But since the laws and public virtue never flourished more at Sparta than when Lysander was sent upon the highest and most important commissions, we may conclude that he was the best among the virtuous, and first among the great. Thus the one, though he often surrendered the command, had it as often restored to him by his fellow-citizens, because his virtue, which alone has a claim to the prize of honour, continued still the same.† The other, after he was once

* We need no other instances than this to show that a republican government will never do in corrupt times.

† What kind of virtue can Plutarch possibly ascribe to Lysander? ....Unless he means military virtue.....Undoubtedly he was a man of the greatest duplicity of character, of the greatest profaneness..... For he corrupted the priests and prostituted the honour of the gods to gratify his personal envy and ambition.

appointed general, usurped the command, and kept in arms for ten years, sometimes styling himself consul, sometimes proconsul, and sometimes dictator, but was always in reality a tyrant.

It is true, as we have observed above, Lysander did attempt a change in the Spartan constitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by persuasion,* not by arms, he proceeded; nor did he attempt to overturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the establishment as to kings. And indeed it seemed natural, that in a state which had the supreme direction of Greece, on account of its virtue, rather than any other superiority, merit should gain the sceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not so much consider the breed, as the dog or horse already bred; (for what if the foal should prove a mule?) so the politician would entirely miss his aim, if, instead of inquiring into the qualities of a person for first magistrate, he looked upon nothing but his family. Thus the Spartans deposed some of their kings, because they had not princely talents, but were persons of no worth or consequence. Vice even with high birth, is dishonourable: and the honour which virtue enjoys is all her own; family has no share in it.

They were both guilty of injustice, but Lysander *for* his friends, and Sylla *against* his. Most of Lysander's fraud's were committed for his creatures, and it was to advance to high stations and absolute power that he dipped his hands in so much blood: whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army, and Dolabella the naval command he had given them; and he attempted to take them away. And when Lucretius Ofella, after the greatest and most faithful services, solicited the consulship, he ordered him to be dispatched before his eyes. Terror and dismay seized all the world, when they saw one of his best friends thus murdered.

If we consider their behaviour with respect to riches and pleasure, we shall find the one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lysander were so extensive, he was not guilty of one act of intemperance or youthful dissipation. He, if any man, avoided the sting of that proverb, *Lions within doors, and foxes without.* So sober, so regular, so worthy of a Spartan, was his manner of living. Sylla on the other hand,

* It was by hypocrisy, by profane and impious expedients.

neither let poverty set bounds to his passions in his youth, nor years in his age: But as Sallust says, while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages and for promoting sobriety, he indulged himself in adultery and every species of lust.

By his debaucheries he so drained the public treasures, that he was obliged to let many cities in alliance and friendship with Rome, purchase independence and the privilege of being governed only by their own laws; though at the same time he was daily confiscating the richest and best houses in Rome. Still more immense were the sums he squandered upon his flatterers. Indeed, what bounds or moderation could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was dilated with wine, if we do but attend to one instance of his behaviour in public? One day as he was selling a considerable estate, which he wanted a friend to have at an under price, another offered more, and the crier proclaiming the advance, he turned with indignation to the people, and said, "What outrage and tyranny is this, my friends, that I am not allowed to dispose of my own spoils as I please?"

Far from such rapaciousness, Lysander, to the spoils he sent his countrymen, added his own share. Not that I praise him in that; for perhaps he hurt Sparta more essentially by the money he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by that which he took from it. I only mention it as a proof of the little regard he had for riches. It was something very particular, however, that Sylla, while he abandoned himself to all the profusion of luxury and expense, should bring the Romans to sobriety; whereas Lysander subjected the Spartans to those passions which he restrained in himself. The former acted worse than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worse than himself; for he filled Sparta with the love of that which he knew how to despise. Such they were in their political capacity.

As to military achievements, and acts of generalship, the number of victories, and the dangers he had to combat, Sylla is beyond comparison. Lysander, indeed, gained two naval victories; to which we may add his taking of Athens; for though that affair was not difficult in the execution, it was glorious in its consequences. As to his miscarriage in Bœotia and at Haliartus, ill fortune, per-

haps, had some concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiscretion, since he would not wait for the great reinforcement which the king was bringing from Platæa, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed resentment and ambition marched up to the walls. Hence it was, that he was slain by some troops of no consideration, who sallied out to the attack. He fell not as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, who was slain as he was making head against an impetuous enemy; not like Cyrus, or Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound as he was rallying his men, and insuring to them the victory. These great men died the death of generals and kings. But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously like a common soldier or desperate adventurer. By his death he showed how right the ancient Spartans were in not choosing to fight against stone walls, where the bravest man in the world may be killed; I will not say by an insignificant man, but by a child or a woman. So Achilles is said to have been slain by Paris at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, so many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and so many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not easy to number them. He took Rome itself twice,* and the Piræus at Athens, not by famine, as Lysander had done, but by assault, after he had defeated Archelaus in several great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point, too, to consider what generals they had to oppose. I can look upon it as no more than the play of children, to have beaten Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades's pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian demagogue,

> A man whose tongue was sharpen'd....not his sword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, consuls, generals, and tribunes of the highest influence and abilities; and, to name but a few of them, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius? among the kings, more powerful than Mithridates; or among the people of Italy, more warlike than

* Whatever military merit he might display in other battles, he had certainly none in the taking of Rome; for it was not generalship, but necessity that brought it into his hands.

Lamponius and Telesinus? yet Sylla banished the first, subdued the second, and killed the other two.

What is of more consequence, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, is, that Lysander was supported in all his enterprises by his friends at home, and owed all his success to their assistance; whereas Sylla, a banished man, overpowered by a faction, at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, destroying his house, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country on the plains of Bœotia against armies that could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cause. This was not all: Mithridates offered to second him with all his power, and join him with all his forces against his enemies at Rome; yet he relaxed not the least of his demands, nor showed him the least countenance. He would not so much as return his salutation, or give him his hand, till he promised in person to relinquish Asia, to deliver up his ships, and to restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their respective kings. There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or that showed greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own: like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold till his adversary had given out, and after that he turned to revenge his own cause.

The different methods they observed with respect to the Athenians, contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they bore arms against him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city, indulged them with their liberty and the privilege of their own laws: Lysander showed no sort of compassion for a people of late so glorious and powerful, but abolished the popular government, and set over them the most cruel and unjust of tyrants.

Perhaps, we shall not be wide of the truth, if we conclude, that in the life of Sylla there are more great actions, and in Lysander's fewer faults; if we assign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valour and capacity for war.

CIMON.

PERIPOLTAS the diviner,* who conducted king Opheltas and his subjects from Thessaly into Bœotia, left a family that flourished for many years. The greatest part of that family dwelt in Chæronea, where they first established themselves, after the expulsion of the barbarians. But as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never spared themselves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the Medes and the Gauls. There remained only a young orphan, named Damon, and surnamed Peripoltas. Damon, in beauty of person, and dignity of mind, far exceeded all of his age, but he was of a harsh and morose temper, unpolished by education.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer, who wintered with his company in Chæronea, conceived a criminal passion for him: and, as he found solicitations and presents of no avail, he was preparing to use force. It seems he despised our city, whose affairs were then in a bad situation, and whose smallness and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded some violence, and withal was highly provoked at the past attempts, he formed a design against the officer's life, and drew some of his comrades into the scheme. The number was but small, that the matter might be more private; in fact they were no more than sixteen. One night they daubed their faces over with soot, after they had drank themselves up to a pitch of elevation, and next morning fell upon the Roman as he was sacrificing in the market-place. The moment they had killed him, and a number of those that were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confusion. The senate of Chæronea met, and condemned the assassins to death, in order to excuse themselves to the Romans. But as the magistrates supped together according to custom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town-hall, killed every man of them, and then made off again.

* Plutarch here introduces an obscure and dirty story, for the sake of talking of the place of his nativity.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon some expedition marched that way. He stopped to make an enquiry into the affair, which was quite recent, and found that the city was so far from being accessory to the death of the Roman officer, that it was a considerable sufferer itself. He therefore withdrew the garrison, and took the soldiers with him.

Damon, for his part, committed depredations in the adjacent country, and greatly harassed the city. The Chæroneans endeavoured to decoy him by frequent messages and decrees in his favour: and when they had got him among them again, they appointed him master of the wrestling-ring; but soon took opportunity to dispatch him as he was anointing himself in the bagnio. Our fathers tell us, that for a long time certain spectres appeared on that spot, and sad groans were heard: for which reason the doors of the bagnio were walled up: and to this very day those who live in the neighbourhood imagine that they see strange sights, and are alarmed with doleful voices. There are some remains, however, of Damon's family, who live mostly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. These are called,* according to the Æolic dialect, *Asbolomenoi*, that is, *Sooty-faced*, on account of their ancestor's having smeared his face with soot, when he went about the assassination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbours to the Chæroneans, having some prejudice against them, hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of the murder of those who fell by the hands of Damon and his associates, and to prosecute it as if it had been an individual. The cause came before the governor of Macedonia, for the Romans had not yet sent prætors into Greece; and the persons employed to plead for the city, appealed to the testimony of Lucullus. Upon this the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a true account of the affair, and by that means delivered Chæronea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preservation, erected a marble statute to Lucullus in the market-place, close by that of Bacchus. And though many ages are since elapsed, we are of opinion that the obligation extends even to us. We are persuaded too, that a representation of the

* In the Attic dialect it would be Ἡσυχαλημένοι. The Æolic was the vernacular dialect of the Phocians.

body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners, and therefore, in this work of lives compared, shall insert his. We shall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himself sufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions. He cannot want, in return for his true testimony, a false and fictitious account of himself. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have some little blemish, we do not want him entirely to pass over that blemish, nor yet to mark it with exactness: The one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other destroy the likeness. So in our present work, since it is very difficult, or rather impossible, to find any life whatever without its spots and errors, we must set the good qualities in full light, with all the likeness of truth. But we consider the faults and stains that proceed either from some sudden passion or from political necessity, rather as defects of virtue, than signs of a bad heart; and for that reason we shall cast them a little into shade, in reverence to human nature, which produces no specimen of virtue absolutely pure and perfect.

When we looked out for one to put in comparison with Cimon, Lucullus seemed the properest person. They were both of a warlike turn, and both distinguished themselves against the barbarians. They were mild in their administration; they reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more distant countries than Cimon, or Roman than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus only exceeded them; unless we add the expeditions of Perseus against the Ethiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and that of Jason against Colchis. But the scenes of these last actions are laid in such very ancient times, that we have some doubt whether the truth could reach us. This also they have in common, that they left their wars unfinished; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's-blow. The principal mark, however, of likeness in their characters, is their affability and gentleness of deportment in doing the honours of their houses, and the magnificence and splendour with which they furnished their tables. Perhaps, there are some other resemblances which we pass over, that may easily be collected from their history itself.

Cimon was the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it stands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honour of Cimon; so that Thucydides the historian was his relation, for his father was called Olorus;* a name that had been long in the family, and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is said too, to have been killed in Scapte Hyle,† a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice sister to Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into prison by the government, and there he died. He left his son Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at first, was a person of no reputation, but censured as a disorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who, for his stupidity, was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Ideot*). Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was his cotemporary, says, he had no knowledge of music, or any other accomplishment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the least spark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generosity and sincerity in his behaviour, which showed the composition of his soul to be rather of the Peloponnesian kind like the Hercules of Euripides,.....he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions;

and therefore we may well add that article to the account Stesimbrotus has given us of him.

In his youth, he was accused of a criminal commerce with his sister Elpinice. ‡ There are other instances, indeed, mentioned of Elpinice's irregular conduct, particularly with respect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it

* Ολορε τε πατερος ην εις τον τροχονον αναφεροντος την ομωνυμιαν.

† *Scapte Hyle* signifies *a wood full of trenches*. Stephanus (de urb.) calls it Scaptesule.

‡ Some say Elpinice was only half sister to Cimon, and that as such he married her; the laws of Athens not forbidding him to marry one that was sister only by the father's side. Cornelius Nepos expressly affirms it.

was, we are told, that when he painted the Trojan women, in the portico then called *Plesianaction*,* but now *Pockilæ*, he drew Elpinice's face in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus, however, was not a painter by profession, nor did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but painted without reward, to recommend himself to his countrymen. So the historians write, as well as the poet Melanthius in these verses.....

> The temple of the gods,
> The fanes of heroes, and Cecropian halls,
> His liberal hand adorn'd,

It is true, there are some who assert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but that she was publicly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a husband suitable to her birth. Afterwards Callias, a rich Athenian, falling in love with her, made a proposal to pay the government her father's fine, if she would give him her hand, which condition she agreed to, and, with her brother's consent, became his wife. Still it must be acknowledged that Cimon had his attachments to the sex: witness his mistresses Asteria of Salamis and one Menstra, on whose account the poet Melanthus jests upon him in his elegies. And though he was legally married to Isodice the daughter of Euryptolemus the son of Megacles, yet he was too uxorious while she lived, and at her death he was inconsolable, if we may judge from the elegies that were addressed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Panætius the philosopher thinks Archelaus the physician was author of those elegies, and from the times in which he flourished, the conjecture seems not improbable.

The rest of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honester man than either of them. He could not be said to come short of them in abilities for war: and even while he was young and without military experience, it is surprizing how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themistocles, upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the Straits of Salamis to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were

* Diogenes, Suidas, and others, call it Peisianaction

astonished at the rashness of the enterprise. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddess. This was to show that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, on the present occasion. After he had consecrated the bridle, and taken down a shield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddess, and then went down to the sea; by which means he inspired numbers with courage to embark. Besides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandsome in his person, but tall and majestic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his shoulders. He distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner in the battle that he gained not only the praise, but the hearts of his countrymen; insomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of designs and actions worthy of those at Marathon.

When he applied for a share in the administration, the people received him with pleasure. By this time they were weary of Themistocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body consequent upon his natural mildness and candour, they promoted him to the highest honours and offices in the state. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He saw the goodness of his disposition, and set him up as a rival against the keenness and daring spirit of Themistocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at sea, but acted under the orders of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. The first thing Cimon did was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better seamen than the rest. And as Pausanias began to treat with the barbarians, and write letters to the king, about betraying the fleet to them, in consequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty style, and foolishly gave into many unnecessary and oppressive acts of authority; Cimon, on the other hand, listened to the complaints of the injured with so much gentleness and humanity, that he insensibly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging manners. For the greatest part of the allies, no longer able to bear the severity and pride of Pausanias, put

themselves under the direction of Cimon and Aristides. At the same time they wrote to the *ephori*, to desire them to recal Pausanias, by whom Sparta was so dishonoured, and all Greece so much discomposed.

It is related, that when Pausanias was at Byzantium, he cast his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and insisted on having her for a mistress. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard necessity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that she might go to his bed in secrecy and silence. When she entered he was asleep, and she unfortunately stumbled upon the candlestick, and threw it down. The noise waked him suddenly, and he, in his confusion, thinking it was an enemy come to assassinate him, unsheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never rest. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verse.....

Go to the fate which pride and lust prepare!

The allies, highly incensed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to besiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to escape thence; and as he was still haunted by the spectre, he is said to have applied to a temple at Heraclea* where the *manes* of the dead were consulted. There he invoked the spirit of Cleonice,† and entreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "He would soon be delivered from all his troubles, after his return to Sparta:" in which, it seems, his death was enigmatically foretold.‡ These particulars we have from many historians.

All the confederates had now put themselves under the conduct of Cimon, and he sailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that some of the most honourable of the

* Heraclea was a place near Olympia. Pausanias applied to the necromancers there called Psychagogi, whose office it was to call up the departed spirits.

† Thus we find that it was a custom in the Pagan as well as in the Hebrew theology, to conjure up the spirits of the dead, and that the witch of Endor was not the only witch in the world.

‡ The Lacedæmonians having resolved to seize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva called *Chalcioicos*. There they shut him up and starved him.

Persians, and of the king's relations, had seized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harrassed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Persian forces, and then shut them up in the town. After this, he dislodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had used to supply the town with provisions, and kept so strick a guard over the country, that no convoys could escape him. By this means, the place was reduced to such extremity, that Butes the king's general, in absolute despair, set fire to it, and so perished there with his friends and all his substance.

In consequence of this, Cimon became master of the town; but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, because the barbarians had destroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and that he settled with Athenians. For this reason the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermæ*, which had the following inscriptions:

Where Strymon with his silver waves
The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The hapless Mede, with famine prest,
The force of Grecian arms confest.

Let him, who born in distant days,
Behold these monuments of praise.....
These forms that valour's glory save....
And see how Athens crowns the brave,
For honour feel the patriot sigh,
And for his country learn to die.

Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
When Mnestheus leads his Atttic bands,
Behold! he bears in Homer still
The palm of military skill.
In every age, on every coast,
'Tis thus the sons of Athens boast!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of these inscriptions, yet his cotemporaries considered them as the highest pitch of honour: for neither Themistocles nor Miltiades were favoured with any thing of that kind. Nay, when the latter asked only for a crown of olive,

Sochares of the ward of Decelea stood up in the midst of the assembly, and spoke against it in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He said, "Miltiades, when you shall fight the barbarians alone, and conquer alone, then ask to have honours paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference so greatly to this action of Cimon? was it not that under the other generals they fought for their lives and existence as a people, but under him they were able to distress their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had established themselves, and by colonizing Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony too in the isle of Scyros,* which was reduced by Cimon on the occasion I am going to mention: The Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had so long been addicted to piracy, that at last they spared not even the merchants and strangers who came into their ports, but in that of Ctesium plundered some Thessalians who came to traffic with them, and put them in prison. These prisoners, however, found means to escape, and went and lodged an impeachment against the place before the Amphictyones, (who commanded the whole island to make restitution.) Those who had no concern in the robbery were unwilling to pay any thing, and instead of that, called upon the persons who committed it and had the goods in their hands to make satisfaction. But these pirates, apprehensive of the consequence, sent to invite Cimon to come with his ships and take the town, which they promised to deliver up to him. In pursuance of this, Cimon took the island, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of corsairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theseus, the son of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherously killed by king Lycomedes, who entertained some suspicion of him. And as there was an oracle which had enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains,† and to honour him as a demi-god, Cimon set himself to search for his tomb. This was no easy undertaking, for the people of Scyros had all along refused to

* This happened about the beginning of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

† This oracle was delivered to them four years before; in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad.

declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last, with much pains and inquiry he discovered the repository, and put his remains, set off with all imaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero almost four hundred years after he had left it.*

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it, they instituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their skill; and the dispute was very remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece upon the theatre: and Aphepsion, the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: When Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Sicily, where he died and was buried near Gela.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations were over, Cimon was desired to sing, and he did it so agreeably, that the company preferred him, in point of politeness, to Themistocles: For he, on a like occasion, said, "He had not learned to sing or play upon the harp; but he knew how to raise a small city to wealth and greatness." The conversation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable; he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the most artful expedient he had made use of: A great number of barbarians were made prisoners in Sestos at Byzantium; and the allies desired Cimon to make a division of the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners, quite naked, on one side, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained the shares

* Plutarch could not make a mistake of four hundred years. We are persuaded, therefore, that he wrote *eight-hundred*.

were not equal; whereupon he bade them take which part they pleased, assuring them that the Athenians would be satisfied with that they left. Herophytus the Samian advised them to make choise of the Persian spoils, and of course the Persian captives fell to the share of the Athenians. For the present Cimon was ridiculed in private for the division he had made; because the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of scarlet and purple to show, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked slaves, and those very unfit for labour. But a little after the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large sums for their ransom; so that Cimon with the money purchased four months provisions for his ships, and sent a quantity of gold besides to the Athenian treasury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune; and what he had gained gloriously in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that strangers, as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. He had a supper provided at his house every day, in which the dishes were plain, but sufficient for a multitude of guests. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleasure, and had his diet without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Aristotle, indeed, says, this supper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for those of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia.*

When he walked out he used to have a retinue of young men well clothed; and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dress, he ordered some one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But beside this, the same attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market-place with any necessitous person of tolerable appearance, they took care to slip some pieces into his hand as privately as possible. Cratinus the comic writer seems to have referred to these circumstances in one of his pieces entitled Archilochi.

* Cimon's ward being afterwards called Oeneis, it must be reconciled with this place from Stephanus, who tells us, *the Laciadæ were a people of the ward Oeneis.*

Even I Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
And live to my last hour at Cimon's table;
Cimon! the best and noblest of the Greeks!
Whose wide-spread bounty vied with that of heaven!
But, ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this character: "He got riches to use them, and used them so as to be honoured on their account." And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his elegies thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes:

The wealth of Scopas' * heirs, the soul of Cimon.
And the fam'd trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by nothing but entertaining strangers who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to sow bread-corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire: in these things they justly glory. But Cimon's house was a kind of common hall for all the people; the first fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the seasons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered: nor were strangers in the least debarred from them: so that he in some measure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets tell so much of. Those who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people, were refuted by the rest of his conduct, in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the constitution and custom of Lacedæmon. When Themistocles wanted to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all persons concerned in the administration, except Aristides and Ephilates, pillaging the public; yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this they give us in his be-

* Scopas, a rich Thessalian, is mentioned in the life of Cato.

haviour to Rhœsaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man finding himself harassed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favour, placed two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics, in his antichamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled, and asked him, "Whether he should choose to have him his mercenary or his friend?" "My friend undoubtedly," said the barbarian. "Go then," said Cimon, "and take these things back with you; for if I be your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have occasion for it."

About this time, the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to scruple the furnishing of ships and men. They wanted to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquility, particularly as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon took a different course, when he had the command. He used no compulsion to any Grecian: he took money and ships unmanned, of such as did not choose to serve in person; and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures: so that of a warlike people, they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure, quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships, and kept them in continual exercise. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other, had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of service: hence it was that the allies learned to fear and flatter them, and instead of being their fellow-soldiers as formerly, insensibly became their tributaries and subjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not satisfied with driving him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid

waste some part of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league; insomuch that in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be seen. As soon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coasts he wanted to intimidate them in such a manner that they should never more venture beyond the Chelidonian isles. For this purpose he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themistocles had, in their first construction, made light and fit to turn with the utmost agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that they might in time of action be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaselis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet, nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to assault their walls. Hereupon, the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendship for the people of Phaselis, on one side endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addressed themselves to the townsmen, by letters fastened to arrows which they shot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were, that the Phaselites should pay down ten talents, and should follow Cimon's standard against the barbarians.

Ephorus says, Tithraustes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land-forces; but Callisthenes will have it, that Ariomandes the son of Gobryas was at the head of the Persians. He tells us farther, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, and did not yet choose to come to an engagement with the Greeks, because he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore sailed with a resolution to compel the Persians to fight, if they declined it. To avoid it, they pushed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head against him, with six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed, however, nothing worthy of such a fleet, but presently made for land. The foremost got on shore, and escaped to the army, which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold on the rest, and handled them very roughly, as well as their ships. A certain proof that the Persian fleet was very numerous, is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were

destroyed, yet the Athenians took no less than two hundred vessels.

The barbarian land-forces advanced close to the sea: but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of sword, and with his troops, who were fatigued with the late action, to engage those that were quite fresh and many times their number. Notwithstanding this, he saw the courage and sprits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very desirous to be led against the enemy. He therefore disembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the late action. They rushed forward with loud shouts, and the Persians stood and received them with a good countenance. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the bravest and most distinguished of the Athenians were slain. At last with much difficulty the barbarians were put to the rout: many were killed, and many others were taken, together with their pavilions full of all manner of rich spoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by these two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at sea, and of Platæa at land. He added, however, a new trophy to his victories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phœnician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at Hydrus,* he steered that way as fast as possible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whose assistance they were going; and, as this suspense much intimidated them, they were easily defeated, with the loss of all their ships and most of their men.

These events so humbled the king of Persia, that he came into that famous peace, which limited him to the distance of a day's journey † on horseback from the Grecian sea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ships of war should ever come within the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles. Callisthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to these conditions: but he allows that his subsequent behaviour was equivalent to such an agreement;

* As no such place as Hydrus is to be found, Lubinus thinks we should read Sydra, which was a maratime town of Cilicia. Dacier proposes to read Hydrussa, which was one of the Cyclades. But perhaps Hydrus is only a corruption of Cyprus; for Polyænus (l. i.) tells us, Cimon sailed thither immediately after his two-fold victory. And he adds, that he went disguised in a Persian dress, which must be with a view to take in the Phœnician galleys.

† Four hundred furlongs.

for his fears consequent upon the defeat, made him retire so far from Greece, that Pericles, with fifty ships, and Ephialtes, with no more than thirty, sailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks, without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in substance the same as we have related them. We are told also, that the Athenians built an altar to Peace on this occasion, and that they paid particular honours to Callias, who negotiated the treaty. So much was raised from the sale of the spoils, that beside what was reserved for other occasions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the south side of the citadel. Nay, such was the treasure this expedition afforded, that by it were laid the foundations of the long walls called Legs; they were not finished indeed till some time after. And as the place where they were to be erected was marshy and full of water, Cimon, at his own expence, had the bottom secured, by ramming down large stones, and binding them with gravel. He too first adorned the city with those elegant and noble places for exercise and disputation, which a little after came to be so much admired. He planted the *forum* with plane trees; and whereas the Academy before was a dry and unsightly plat, he brought water to it, and sheltered it with groves, so that it abounded with clean alleys and shady walks.

By this time the Persians refused to evacuate the Chersonesus, and, instead of that called down the Thracians to their assistance. Cimon set out against them from Athens with a very few galleys; and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with four ships only, took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Persians, and beat the Thracians too; by which success he reduced the whole Chersonesus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at sea the Thasians who had revolted from the Athenians, took three-and-thirty of their ships, and stormed their town. The gold mines which were in the neighbouring continent he secured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thasian territories.

From thence there was an easy opening to invade Macedonia, and possibly to conquer great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the presents which king Alexander made him. His ene-

mies, therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence, he thus addressed his judges:..... "I have no connection with rich Ionians or Thessalians, whom other generals have applied to, in hopes of receiving compliments and treasures from them. My attachment is to the Macedonians,* whose frugality and sobriety I honour and imitate; things preferable with me to all the wealth in the world. I love indeed to enrich my country at the expence of its enemies." Stesimbrotus, who mentions this trial, says, Elpinice waited on Pericles at his own house, to entreat that he would behave with some lenity to her brother: for Pericles was the most vehement accuser he had. At present he only said. "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to transact such business as this." However, when the cause came on, he was favourable enough to Cimon, and rose up only once to speak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a slight manner. Cimon therefore was honourably acquitted.

As to the rest of his administration, he opposed and restrained the people, who were invading the province of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of every thing to themselves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again, and overturning the constitution and most sacred customs of their country, at the instigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus those causes that used to come before it, and left it the cognizance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themselves, they made the government a perfect democracy: and this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had espoused their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that high court insulted; and he set himself to restore its jurisdiction, and to revive such an aristocracy as had obtained under Clisthenes. Upon this his adversaries raised a great clamour, and exasperated the people against him, not forgetting those stories about his sister, and his

* The manuscripts in general have Lacedæmonians; and that is probably the true reading; for Cimon is well known to have had a strong attachment to that people. Besides, the Macedonians were not a sober people. As to what some object, that it is strange he should make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accused of being bribed by them: the answer is easy, we are not certain that Plutarch has given us all Cimon's defence.

own attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Hence those verses of Eupolis about Cimon:....

> He's not a villain but a debauchee,
> Whose careless heart is lost on wine and women.
> The time has been, he slept in Lacedæmon,
> And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if, with all his negligence and love of wine, he took so many cities, and gained so many victories, it is plain that if he had been a sober man, and attentive to business, none of the Greeks, either before or after him, could have exceeded him in great and glorious actions.

From his first setting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedæmonians. According to Stesimbrotus he called one of the twins he had by a Clitonian woman, Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus; and Pericles often took occasion to reproach them with their mean descent by the mother's side. But Diodorus, the geographer, writes, that he had both these sons, and a third named Thessalus, by Isodice, daughter to Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themistocles, they much rather chose to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians too at first saw this with pleasure, because they reaped great advantages from the regard which the Spartans had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of all the business of the league, it was no uneasiness to them to see the honour and esteem he was held in. Indeed, Cimon was the man they pitched upon for transacting that business, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies, and his interest with the Lacedæmonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to see Cimon still adoring the Spartans; for he was always magnifying that people at their expence; and particularly, as Stesimbrotus tells us, when he had any fault to find with them, he used to say, "The Lacedæmonians would not have done so." On this account his countrymen began to envy and to hate him.

They had, however, a still heavier complaint against him, which took its rise as follows: In the fourth year o the reign of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, there

happened the greatest earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft asunder; Mount Taygetus felt the shock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was dismantled, except five houses. The young men and boys were exercising in the portico, and it is said that a little before the earthquake a hare crossed the place, upon which the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in sport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and destroyed them all together. Their monument is still called, from that event, Sismatia.

Archidamus, amidst the present danger, perceived another that was likely to ensue, and, as he saw the people busy in endeavouring to save their most valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if some enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that crisis saved Sparta; for the Helots flocked together on all sides from the fields to dispatch such as had escaped the earthquake; but finding them armed, and in good order, they returned to their villages, and declared open war. At the same time they persuaded some of their neighbours, among whom were the Messenians, to join them against Sparta.

In this great distress, the Lacedæmonians sent Periclides to Athens, to beg for succours. Aristophanes,* in his comic way, says, "There was an extraordinary contrast between his pale face and his red robe, as he sat a suppliant at the altars, and asked us for troops." Ephialtes strongly opposed and protested against giving any assistance to re-establish a city which was rival to their own, insisting that they ought rather to suffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and persuaded the people to march with a great army to its aid. Ion mentions the words which had the most effect upon them: He desired them, it seems, "not to suffer Greece to be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of its companion."

When he returned from assisting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without

* Lysistrata, l. 1140.

permission of the citizens: "For," said he, "when we knock at another man's door, we do not enter without leave from the master." "But you, Lachartus," answered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone and Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced your way in, upon this principle, that nothing should be shut against the strong." With this boldness and propriety too did he speak to the Corinthian, and then pursued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a second time against the Messenians and Helots in Ithome;* but when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their spirit of enterprise than of the enemy; and therefore, of all their allies, sent them only back again, as persons suspected of some dishonourable design. They returned full of resentment of course,† and now openly declared themselves against the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly against Cimon. In consequence of this, upon a slight pretence, they banished him for ten years, which is the term the ostracism extends to.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tengara. The Athenians came to give them battle. On this occasion Cimon appeared in arms among those of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country against the Lacedæmonians. When the council of five hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raise a clamour against him, as if he was only come to throw things into confusion, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had desired Euthippus the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his friends, who were most censured as partizans of Sparta, to exert themselves gloriously against the enemy, and by their behaviour to wipe off the aspersion.

These brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armour (as a sacred pledge) into the midst of their little band, formed themselves into a close body, and fought till they all fell with the greatest ardour imaginable. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjust censures they had fixed upon them. Their resent-

* The Spartans were not skilled in sieges.

† The Athenians, in resentment of this affront, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives. *Thucyd.* l. i.

ment against Cimon, too, soon abated, partly from the remembrance of his past services, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the present juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected another army would come against them from Peloponnesus the next spring. Hence it was, that they recalled Cimon from banishment, and Pericles himself was the first to propose it. With so much candour were differences managed then, so moderate the resentments of men, and so easily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itself, the strongest of all passions, yielded to the interests and necessities of their country!

Cimon, soon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he saw the Athenians could not sit down quietly, but still wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandise themselves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting farther troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for intestine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies against Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traversing the seas about the islands and round Peloponnesus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, to carry war again into Egypt and Cyprus.* This he thought would answer two intentions; it would

* The history of the first expedition is this: While Cimon was employed in his enterprise against Cyprus, Inarus king of Lybia, having brought the greatest part of Lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to assist him to complete his conquest. Hereupon the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and sailed into Egypt. They made themselves masters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis, seized two of the outworks, and attempted the third, called the *white wall*. But the expedition proved very unfortunate. Artaxerxes sent Megabyzus with a powerful army into Egypt. He defeated the rebels and the Lybians their associates, drove the Greeks from Memphis, shut them up in the island of Prospitis eighteen months, and at last forced them to surrender. They almost all perished in that war, which lasted six years. Inarus, in violation of the public faith, was crucified.

The second expedition was undertaken a few years after, and was not more successful. The Athenians went against Cyprus with two hundred galleys. While they were besieging Citium there, Amyrtæus the Saite applied to them for succours in Egypt, and Cimon sent him sixty of his galleys. Some say he went with them himself; others that he continued before Citium. But nothing of moment was transacted at this time to the prejudice of the Persians in Egypt. However, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, Amyrtæus issued from the fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Persians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country. *Thucyd.* l. ii. *Diod.* Sic. l. xi.

accustom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their substance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich spoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream : An angry bitch seemed to bay at him, and, something between barking and a human voice, to utter these words ;.....*Come on ; I and my whelps with pleasure shall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Astyphilus the Posidonian, a great diviner, and a friend of Cimon's told him it signified his death. He argued thus ; a dog is an enemy to the man he barks at ; and no one can give his enemy greater pleasure than by his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are composed of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream, he had another sign in sacrificing to Bacchus. When the priest had killed the victim, a swarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for some time without any one's taking notice of it : at last Cimon himself observed it, and at the same instant the soothsayer came and showed him the liver without a head.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he set sail. He sent sixty of his galleys against Egypt, and with the rest made for the Asiatic coast, where he defeated the king's fleet, consisting of Phœnician and Cilician ships, made himself master of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Every thing was great in the designs he formed. He thought of nothing less than overturning the whole Persian empire : and the rather because he was informed that Themistocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promised the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war, whenever he entered upon it. But Themistocles, they tell us, in despair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand.

When Cimon had formed these great projects, as a first step towards them, he cast anchor before Cyprus. From thence he sent persons in whom he could confide with a private question to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon ; for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return

them any answer, but immediately upon their arrival ordered them to return, "Because Cimon," said he, "is already with me." The messengers, upon this, took the road to the sea, and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coasts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then inquired what day he died, and comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expression, "That he was already with the gods."

According to most authors he died a natural death during the siege of Citium; but some say he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The last advice he gave to those about him, was to sail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real state of the case, they returned in safety, by the generalship of Cimon, exercised, as Phanodemus says, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did any thing considerable against the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who set the Greeks one against another, and involved them in intestine wars nor was there any healing hand to interpose. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themselves, and inexpressible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Agesilaus carried his arms into Asia, and renewed the war a while against the king's lieutenants on the coast: but he was so soon recalled by the seditions and tumults which broke out afresh in Greece, that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Persian tax-gatherers were then left amidst the cities in alliance and friendship with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a single collector was seen, nor so much as a horseman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the sea-coast.

That his remains were brought to Attica, his monument there is a sufficient proof, for it still bears the title of Cimonia. Nevertheless, the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon, which they hold in great veneration, as Nausicrates the orator informs us; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to disregard his *manes*, but to honour and worship him as a superior being. Such was this Grecian general.

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular dignity; Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by the mother's side. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother Cæcilia had but an indifferent reputation for chastity. As for Lucullus himself, while he was but a youth, before he solicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a share in the administration, he made his first appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuser. As he had caught Servilius in some act of injustice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the prosecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary spirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans considered the business of impeachments as a generous pursuit, and they chose to have their young men fasten upon criminals, like so many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The cause was argued with so much vehemence, that they came to blows, and several were wounded, and some killed. In the end, however, Servilius was acquitted. But though Lucullus lost his cause, he had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues; insomuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries to him, as a person who could reduce the acts and incidents to much better order, and compose a more agreeable history of them than himself: For his eloquence was not only occasional, or exerted when necessity called for it, like that of other orators who beat about in the *forum*,

> As sports the vaulting tunny in the main,
>
> But when they are out of it,
>
> Are dry, inelegant, and dead.....

He had applied himself to the sciences called *liberal*, and was deep in the study of *humanity* from his youth; and in his age he withdrew from public labours; of which he had had a great share, to repose himself in the bosom of philosophy, and to enjoy the speculations she suggested; bidding a timely adieu to ambition after his difference

with Pompey. To what we have said of his ingenuity and skill in languages, the following story may be added:..... While he was but a youth, as he was jesting one day with Hortensius the orator, and Sisenna the historian he undertook to write a short history of the Marsi, either in Greek or Latin verse, as the lot should fall. They took him at his word; and according to the lot, it was to be in Greek. That history of his is still extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans speak most of the first. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept of any office without him, but waited his time. This was so agreeable to the people, that in his absence they created him ædile along with his brother.

Though he was but a stripling at the time of the Marsian war, there appeared many instances of his courage and understanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his constancy and mildness. On this account he made use of his services from first to last in his most important affairs. Amongst other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined most of Sylla's money in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war: From him it was called Lucullia; and it continued to be chiefly in use for the occasions of the army, for the goodness of it made it pass with ease.

Some time after this, Sylla engaged in the siege of Athens: and though he was victorious by land, the superiority of the enemy at sea straitened him for provisions. For this reason he dispatched Lucullus into Egypt and Lybia, to procure him a supply of ships. It was then the depth of winter; yet he scrupled not to sail with three small Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, which were to meet strong seas, and a number of the enemy's ships which kept watch on all sides, because their strength lay there. In spite of this opposition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's interest.

From thence he passed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harrassed, and re-established their constitution. In this he availed himself of a saying of Plato, who when he was desired to give them a body of laws, and to settle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular answer, "It is very difficult to give

laws to so prosperous a people." In fact nothing is harder to govern than man, when fortune smiles; nor any thing more tractable than he, when calamity lays her hands upon him. Hence it was that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so pliant and submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrene he sailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost most of the vessels he had collected. He himself escaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being conducted in by the whole Egyptian fleet set off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy,* who was but a youth, received him with all demonstrations of respect, and even lodged and provided him a table in his own palace; an honour which had not been granted before to any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expences the same which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents though he was offered no less than the value of eighty talents. It is said, he neither visited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking it rather the business of a person who has time, and only travels for pleasure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a siege, and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused to enter into alliance with Sylla, for fear of bringing war upon himself; but he gave Lucullus a convoy to escort him to Cyprus, embracing him at parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald set in gold. Lucullus at first declined it; but upon the king's showing him his own picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In his return he collected a number of ships from the maritime towns, excepting those that had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed

* Palmerius takes this for Ptolemy Auletes; but Auletes was not king till the year before Christ sixty-five. It must, therefore, have been Ptolemy Lathyrus; for Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates in the year before Christ eighty-two.

over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ships lay in wait for him under some point of land; and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all necessaries, as if he intended to pass the winter there. But as soon as the wind served, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage lowering his sails in the day-time, and hoisting them again when it grew dark; by which stratagem he got safe to Rhodes. There he got a fresh supply of ships, and found means to persuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates and join him against the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios; took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant, prisoner, and set the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana. As Fimbria shut him up by land, he cast his eyes upon the sea, and in despair of facing in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ships from all quarters. Fimbria saw this, but was sensible of his want of naval strength, and therefore sent to entreat Lucullus to come with his fleet, and assist him in taking a king who was the most warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," said he, "the glorious prize which has been sought in so many labours and conflicts, escape, as he is fallen into the hands of the Romans, and is already in their net. When he is taken, who will have a greater share in the honour than he who stops his flight, and catches him as he goes? If I shut him up by land, and you do the same by sea, the palm will be all our own. What value will Rome then set upon the actions of Sylla at Orchomenus and Chæronea, though now so much extolled?"

There was nothing absurd in the proposal. Every body saw, that if Lucullus who was at no great distance, had brought up his fleet, and blocked up the harbour, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity, as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own interest and that of the public; whether he abhorred Fimbria as a villain whose ambition had lately led him to murder his general and his friend; or whether by some over-ruling influence of fortune, he reserved

Mithridates for his own antagonist, he absolutely rejected the proposal. He suffered him to get out of the harbour, and to laugh at Fimbria's land-forces.

After this, he had the honour of beating the king's fleet twice. The first time was at Lectum, a promontory of Troas; the second at Tenedos where he saw Neoptolemus at anchor with a more considerable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the rest of his ships, in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars commanded by Demagoras a man very faithful to the Romans, and experienced in naval affairs. Neoptolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the master of the ship to strike against that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the weight of the admiral's galley, and the shock of its brazen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him a-head. He therefore tacked about, and received him a-stern, in which place he received no great damage, because the stroke was upon the lower parts of the ship, which were under water. In the mean time the rest of the fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ship to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and after many gallant actions, put them to flight, and pursued Neoptolemus for some time.

This done, he went to meet Sylla, who was going to cross the sea from the Chersonnesus. Here he secured his passage, and helped to transport his army. When the peace was agreed upon,* Mithridates sailed into the Euxine sea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents. Lucullus was commissioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money; and it was some consolation to the cities, amidst the severity of Sylla, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmost justice, but with all the lenity that so difficult and odious a charge would admit of.

As the Mityleneans had openly revolted, he wanted to bring them to acknowledge their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius's party. But, led by their ill genius, they continued obstinate. Upon this, he went against them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and shut them up within their walls. Some days after he had begun the siege, he had recourse to this

* This peace was concluded in the year of Rome six hundred and sixty-nine, eight years before the death of Sylla.

stratagem. In open day he set sail towards Elea, but returned privately at night and lay close near the city. The Mityleneans then sallying out in a bold and disorderly manner to plunder his camp, which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took most of them prisoners, and killed five hundred who stood upon their defence. Here he got six thousand slaves, and an immense quantity of other spoil.

He had no hand in the various and unspeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy; for by the favour of Providence he was engaged in the affairs of Asia: Yet none of Sylla's friends had greater interest with him. Sylla as we have said, out of particular regard, dedicated his Commentaries to him; and passing Pompey by, in his last will constituted him guardian to his son. This seems to have first occasioned those differences and that jealousy which subsisted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young men and full of ardour in the pursuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad. At this time many proposed to renew the war with Mithridates; and Cotta himself said, "The fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers." Lucullus, therefore was much concerned at having the Cisalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which promised him no opportunity to distinguish himself. But the honour Pompey had acquired in Spain, gave him most trouble; because that general's superior reputation, he clearly saw, after the Spanish war was ended, would entitle him to the command against Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government, that if he was not supplied he must leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himself to procure the supplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his consulship. He knew that every measure at home would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with such an army; for at that very time the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, because he consulted nothing but the humour of the people, was at enmity with Lucullus, on account of his detesting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amours, insolence, and every species

of profligacy. Against this man he declared open war. Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted to annul the acts of Sylla, and to disorder the whole face of affairs which was now tolerably composed. But Lucullus, by private representations and public remonstrances, drew him from his purpose, and restrained his ambition. Thus, in the most polite and salutary way imaginable, he destroyed the seeds of a very dangerous disease.

About this time news was brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. There was many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus, as the person most likely to procure it for them. Lucullus set no great value upon that government; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general against Mithridates. For this reason, he exerted all his art to secure the province to himself. At last he was necessitated against the bent of his disposition, to give into a measure which was indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpose.

There was a woman then in Rome named Præcia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit, but in other respects no better than a common prostitute. By applying her interest with those who frequented her house, and were fond of her company, to serve her friends in the administration, and in other affairs, she added to her other accomplishments the reputation of being an useful friend, and a woman of business. This exalted her not a little. But when she had captivated Cethegus, who then was in the height of his glory, and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus without the consent of Præcia. To her Lucullus applied, by presents, and the most insinuating compliments; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman, than to see herself flattered and courted by such a man as Lucullus. The consequence was, that Cethegus immediately espoused his cause, and solicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need, either of Præcia or Cethegus. All came into his interest, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He, indeed, could not but be considered as the fittest person for that charge, because

Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had given up his pretensions on account of his great age; and these were the only persons who could stand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his colleague Cotta, by much application, prevailed upon the senate to send him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, passed over into Asia, where he found the rest of the troops that were to compose his army. These had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice; and that part of them called Fimbrians, was more untractable than the rest, on account of their having been under no command. At the instigation of Fimbria, they had killed Flaccus, who was consul, and their general too, and had betrayed Fimbria himself to Sylla; and they were still mutinous and lawless men, though in other respects brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Nevertheless, Lucullus in a little time subdued the seditious spirit of these men, and corrected the faults of the rest; so that now they first found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to serve by indulgence and every promise of pleasure.

The affairs of the enemy was in this posture: Mithridates, like a sophistical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and ostentatious manner, with forces that were showy and pompous indeed, but of little use. Baffled and disgraced in his attempt, he grew wiser; and therefore in this second war he provided troops that were capable of real service. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and those bravadoes that were issued from his camp, in a barbarous variety of language, together with the rich arms, adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather as the spoils of the conquerer, than as adding any vigour to the men that wore them. Instead of this he armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields; and his cavalry he provided with horses rather well trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry of sixteen thousand, besides armed chariots, to the number of a hundred His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women, but with

all manner of weapons, offensive and defensive, and money to pay the troops.

In this respectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleasure ; and not only that country, but all Asia, returned to its former distempered inclinations, by reason of the intolerable evils that the Roman usurers and tax-gatherers had brought upon them. These Lucullus afterwards drove away, like so many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At present he was satisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exercise their office with more moderation ; by which means he kept the Asiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almost universally that way.

While Lucullus was employed in these matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did ever thing to expedite the engagement, in order to prevent Lucullus from having any share in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated, however, both by sea and land, with the loss of sixty ships, and all their crews, as well as four thousand land-forces ; after which he was shut up in Chalcedon, and had no resource, except in the assistance of Lucullus. Lucullus was advised, notwithstanding, to take no notice of Cotta, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find in a defenceless state. On this occasion the soldiers were loudest in their complaints. They represented, that Cotta had, by his rash counsels, not only ruined himself and his own men, but done them too great prejudice ; since, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loss. But Lucullus, in a set speech upon this subject, told them, " He had rather deliver one Roman out of the enemy's hands, than take all the enemy had." And when Archelaus, who formerly had commanded the king's forces in Bœotia, but now was come over to the Romans, and fought for them, asserted, " That if Lucullus would but once make his appearance in Pontus, all would immediately fall before him ;" he said " He would not act in a more cowardly manner than hunters, nor pass the wild beasts by, and go to their empty dens." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he

marched against Mithridates with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse.

When he got sight of the enemy, he was astonished at their numbers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius,* a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates out of Spain with some troops, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it and put his army in order of battle. The signal was just ready to be given, when, without any visible alteration, there was a sudden explosion in the air, and a large luminous body was seen to fall between the two armies; its form was like that of a large tun, and its colour that of molten silver. Both sides were so affected with the phenomenon, that they parted without striking a blow. This prodigy is said to have happened in Phrygia at a place called Otryæ.

Lucullus, concluding that no human supplies could be sufficient to maintain so many myriads as Mithridates had for any length of time, especially in presence of an enemy, ordered one of the prisoners to be brought before him. The first question he put to him was, how many there were in his mess? and the second, what provisions he had left in his tent? When he had this man's answer, he commanded him to withdraw; and then examined a second and a third in like manner. The next thing was, to compare the quantity of provisions which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of soldiers he had to support; by which he found, that in three or four days they would be in want of bred-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; and he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his own camp, that in the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cyzicenians, who were beaten in the late battle near Chalcedon,† and had lost three thousand men and ten ships. To deceive Lucullus he decamped soon after supper, one dark tempestuous night; and marched with so much expedition, that at break of day he got be-

* Appian calls him Varius.
† Along with Cotta.

fore the town, and posted himself upon Mount Adrastia.* As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night, as he might easily have done, he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thraceia, the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim, that he concealed it no longer from his men; but when they had intrenched themselves, and returned from their labour, called them together, and told them with great triumph, "In a few days he would gain them a victory which should not cost one drop of blood."

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the continent, † so that it was invested on all sides. The Cyzicenians were prepared to combat the greatest difficulties, and to suffer the last extremities in the Roman cause, but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was visible enough the enemy had the art to impose upon them. Pointing to the Romans who were posted on the heights, "Do you see that army?" said they: "Those are the Armenians and Medes, whom Tigranes has sent as a reinforcement to Mithridates." Surrounded with such an immense number of enemies, as they thought, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmost consternation.

When Demonax, whom Archelaus found means to send into the town,‡ brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, at first they could hardly believe it, imagining he came only with a feigned story, to encourage them to bear up in their present distress. However, the same mo-

* So called from a temple in the city consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess Nemesis, who from thence had the name of Adrastia.

† Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; near which is a city of the same name, with two harbours capable of containing two hundred vessels. *Strab.* l. xii.

‡ By the assistance of bladders he swam into the town.

ment, a boy made his appearance who had been a prisoner among the enemy, and had just made his escape. Upon their asking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jest; but when he saw they were in earnest, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This sufficiently revived their drooping spirits.

In the lake Dascylitis, near Cyzicus, there were vessels of a considerable size. Lucullus hauled up the largest of them, put it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the sea. Then he put on board it as many soldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It seems too, that heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyzicenians, supported them with several remarkable signs. The feast of Proserpine was come, when they were to sacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that kind, they made one of paste,* and were approaching the altar with it. The victim bred for that purpose, pastured with the rest of their cattle on the other side of the frith. On that very day she parted from the herd, swam alone to the town, and presented herself before the altar. The same goddess appeared to Aristogoras, the public secretary, in a dream, and said, "Go and tell your fellow citizens to take courage, for I shall bring the African piper against the trumpeter of Pontus."

While the Cyzicenians were wondering at this oracular expression, in the morning a strong wind blew, and the sea was in the utmost agitation. The king's machines erected against the walls, the wonderful work of Niconidus the Thessalian, by the noise and cracking, first announced what was to come. Then a south wind, incredibly violent, arose, and in the short space of an hour broke all the engines to pieces, and destroyed the wooden tower, which was an hundred cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva was seen by many at Ilium in their sleep, all covered with sweat, and with part of her veil rent; and that she said, she was just come from assisting

* The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, seem to have been the first among the Greeks who offered the figures of animals in paste, myrrh, or some other composition. The poorer sort of Egyptians are said to have done the same from another principle.

the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they showed at Ilium, a pillar which had an inscription to that purpose.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege. But when he came to be sensible of the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, and that they were forced even to eat human flesh,* all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity, while the Roman was attacking a certain fort, to send off almost all his cavalry and his beasts of burden, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure, he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent storm; nevertheless he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, beside his cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow; and the cold was so piercing that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were forced to stop. With the rest he overtook the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and made such havock among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys, and to strip the slain.

The slain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made fifteen thousand prisoners; beside which, he took six thousand horses and an infinite number of beasts of burden. And he made it his business to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Sallust's saying, that this was the first time that the Romans saw a camel.† How

* There is something extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus as to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it would certainly have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the dreadful alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human flesh, when afterwards we are expressly told that they had beasts to send away? There is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, as little foundation in history for this practice, as there is in nature.

† Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus's army. "Before the cavalry were placed the chariots armed with scythes, and camels of that species called dromedaries." *Liv.* lib. xxxvii. c. 40.

could he think that those who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus, and lately defeated Archelaus at Orchomenus and Chæronea, should be unacquainted with that animal?

Mithridates now resolved upon a speedy flight; and to amuse Lucullus with employment in another quarter, he sent his admiral Aristonicus to the Grecian sea. But just as he was on the point of sailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt some part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his escape by sea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the best manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed full twenty thousand, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. It is said that in this campaign the enemy lost near three hundred thousand men, reckoning the servants of the army as well as soldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every testimony of joy and respect. After which he went to the Hellespont, to collect ships to make up a fleet. On this occasion he touched at Troas, and slept there in the temple of Venus. The goddess, he dreamt, stood by him, and addressed him as follows:

> Dost thou then sleep, great monarch of the woods?
> The fawns are rustling near thee....

Upon this he rose, and calling his friends together while it was yet dark, related to them the vision. He had hardly made an end, when messengers arrived from Ilium with an account that they had seen off the Grecian harbour* thirteen of the king's large galleys steering towards Lemnos. He went in pursuit of them without losing a moment, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all the sail he could after some others which were before. These lay at anchor by the island; and as soon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ships ashore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to surround them; nor could their galleys,

* Plutarch means the harbour where the Grecians landed when they were going to the siege of Troy.

which were by the waves kept in continual motion, make any impression upon those of the enemy, which were on firm ground, and stood immoveable. At last, having with much difficulty found a landing-place, he put some of his troops on shore, who taking them in the rear, killed a number of them, and forced the rest to cut their cables and stand out to sea. In the confusion the vessels dashed one against another, or fell upon the beaks of those of Lucullus. The destruction consequently was great. Marius, the general sent by Sertorius, was among the prisoners. He had but one eye; and Lucullus, when he first set sail, had given his men a strict charge not to kill any person with one eye, in order that he might be reserved for a death of greater torture and disgrace.

After this, he hastened to pursue Mithridates himself, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had sent this officer before with a fleet to Nicomedia, to prevent the king's escape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace about getting himself initiated in the mysteries,* and celebrating festivals. Mithridates in the mean time had got out, and was making great efforts to reach Pontus before Lucullus could come to stop him; but a violent tempest overtook him, by which many of his vessels were dashed to pieces, and many sunk. The whole shore was covered with the wreck which the sea threw up for several days. As for the king himself, the ship in which he sailed was so large, that the pilots could not make land with it amidst such a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by this time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a shallop belonging to some pirates; and trusting his life to their hands, beyond all hope was brought safe to Heraclea in Pontus, after having passed through the most unspeakable dangers.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the senate of Rome with an honest pride, which had its success. They had decreed him three thousand talents to enable him to fit

* The mysteries of the Cabiri. The worship of these gods was probably brought from Phœnicia; for CABIR, in the language of that country, signifies powerful. They were reverenced as the most tremendous of superior beings; the more so, because of the mysterious and awful solemnities of their worship. Some have pretended to give us account of their names, though they were locked up in the profoundest secrecy.

out a fleet. But he acquainted them by letters that he had no need of the money; and boasted, that without so much expence, and such mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships the allies would give him. And he performed his promise by the assistance of a superior power; for the tempest, which ruined the Pontic fleet, is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Priapus, for their plundering her temple, and beating down her statue.

Lucullus was now advised by many of his officers to let the war sleep a while; but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was forced to have thirty thousand Gauls follow him with each a measure* of wheat upon his shoulders. But as he proceeded farther in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma, and a slave for four. The rest of the booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed it; for amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermodon, they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation, instead of storm, and gave not up one to the soldiers for plunder. "Now," said they, "you leave Amisus, a rich and flourishing city, which might be easily taken, if you would assault it vigorously; and drag us after Mithridates into the wastes of Tibarene and Chaldea."

Lucullus, however, not thinking they would break out into that rage which afterwards appeared, neglected their remonstrances. He took more pains to excuse himself to those who blamed his slow progress, and his losing time in reducing towns and villages of little consequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the very thing," said he, "that I want, and aim at in all my operations, that Mithridates may get strength, and collect an army respectable enough, to make him stand an engagement, and not continue to fly before us. Do not you see what vast and boundless deserts lie

* Medimnus.

behind him? Is not Caucasus with all its immense train of mountains at hand, sufficient to hide him, and numberless other kings who want to avoid a battle? It is but a few days journey from the country of the Cabiri* into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is seated, surrounded with that power, which has wrested Asia from the parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, subdues Syria and Palestine: cuts off the Seleucidæ, and carries their wives and daughters into captivity. This prince is nearly allied to Mithridates; he is his son-in-law. Do you think he will disregard him when he comes as a suppliant, and not take up arms in his cause; Why will you then be in such haste to drive Mithridates out of his dominions, and risk the bringing Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted a pretence for it? And surely he cannot find a more specious one, than that of succouring a father-in-law, and a king reduced to such extreme necessity. What need is there then for us to ripen this affair, and to teach Mithridates what he may not know, who are the confederates he is to seek against us; or to drive him, against his inclination and his notions of honour, into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not better to give him time to make preparations, and regain strength in his own territories, that we may have to meet the Cholchians, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom we have often beaten, rather than the unknown forces of the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to these sentiments Lucullus spent a great deal of time before Amisus, proceeding very slowly in the siege. After the winter was past, he left that charge to Muræna, and marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri, with a resolution to wait for the Romans there. His army consisted of forty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which he had lately collected; and in these he placed the greatest confidence. Nay, he passed the river Lycus, and gave the

* Hence it appears, as well as from a passage in Strabo, that there was a district on the borders of Phrygia called Cabiri. Indeed the worship of those gods had prevailed in several parts of Asia, and they are supposed to have had homage paid them at Rome under the title of *Divi Potes*.

Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In consequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of some dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indisposed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who asked him, "Whether, if he saved his life, he would become his friend?" "On condition you will be reconciled to the Romans," said he, "I will! but if not I must remain your enemy." The king, struck with admiration of his patriotism, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehensive of farther danger on the plain on account of the enemy's superiority in horse, and yet he was loth to take to the mountains, which were at a considerable distance, as well as woody and difficult of ascent. While he was in this perplexity, some Greeks happened to be taken who had hid themselves in a cave. Artemidorus, the eldest of them, undertook to conduct him to a post where he might encamp in the utmost security, and where there stood a castle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had caused a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having got safely through the narrow passes, he gained the heights, and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a situation where he might fight with advantage, when he chose it, and might not be compelled to it, if he had a mind to sit still.

At present, neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to risk a battle; but some of the king's soldier's happening to pursue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a sharp skirmish, numbers continually coming up on each side. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow-soldiers, were greatly disturbed, and ran to Lucullus, to entreat him to lead them out, and give the signal for battle. But he, willing to show them of how much importance in all dangerous conflicts the presence of an able general is, ordered them to stand still; and descending into the plain himself, seized the foremost of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed, and the rest rallying with them, they easily put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their intrench-

ments. Lucullus at his return inflicted on the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests take off their girdles, and then dig a trench twelve feet long; the rest of the troops all the while standing and looking on.

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee named Olthacus. The Dardarians are some of those barbarous people who live near the lake Mæotis. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in counsel and contrivance inferior to none. Besides these accomplishments, he was affable, easy, and agreeable in the commerce of the world. He was always involved in some dispute, or jealousy at least, of the other great men of his country, who, like him, aimed at the chief authority in it: and to bring Mithridates into his interest, he undertook the daring enterprise of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and publicly gave him some affronts, to afford him a pretence for resentment. Olthacus laid hold on it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleasure; for his reputation was well known in the camp; and, upon trial, the Roman general found his presence of mind and his address so extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council-board.

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his servants to have his horse ready without the camp. It was now mid-day, and the soldiers were sitting in the sun, or otherwise reposing themselves, when he went to the general's pavilion; expecting that none would pretend to hinder the admission of a man who was intimate with Lucullus, and who said he had business of importance to communicate: And he had certainly entered, if sleep, which has been the ruin of many other generals, had not saved Lucullus. Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, was then in-waiting, and he told Olthacus, "This was not a proper time to see Lucullus, because, after long watching and fatigue, he was now taking some rest." Olthacus did not take this denial, but said, "I must enter, whether you will or not, for I have great and necessary business to lay before him." Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered, "Nothing is more necessary than the preservation of Lucullus," and thrust him back with both hands. Ol-

thacus fearing his design was discovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horse, and returned to Mithridates without effecting any thing. Thus the crisis, in other matters, as well as in medicine, either saves or destroys.

After this, Sornatius was sent out with ten cohorts to escort a convoy. Mithridates detached against him one of his officers named Menander. An engagement ensued and the barbarians were routed with great loss. Another corps, to protect the party employed in collecting provisions and supplying his camp. Mithridates did not let him pass unnoticed, but set Menemachus and Myron against them, with a strong body of cavalry and another of infantry. All these combatants, except two, the Romans put to the sword. Mithridates dissembled his loss, pretending it was small, and entirely owing to the misconduct of the commanding-officers. But when Adrian passed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with provision and rich spoils in his train, the king's spirits began to droop, and the most distressing terror fell upon his army. They determined, therefore, to quit that post.

The nobility about the king began to send off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but would not suffer others to do the same. The soldiers finding themselves jostled and thrust back in the gateways, were so much provoked at that treatment, that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed several of them. Dorylaus, one of the generals, lost his life for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermæus, a priest, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himself, without any attendant or groom to assist him, got out of the camp amidst the crowd. Of all his royal stud there was not one horse left him; but at last Ptolemy the eunuch, seeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horseback, dismounted and gave him his. The Romans pressed hard upon him, and indeed came up time enough to have taken him. He was in fact almost in their hands; but their avarice saved him. The prey, which had been pursued through numberless conflicts and dangers, escaped, and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horse which

the king rode was almost overtaken, when a mule loaded with gold came between him and his pursuers, either by accident or by the king's contrivance. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows about the contents; which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only disadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Callistratus, the king's secretary, was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but those who had the charge of it, perceiving he had five hundred crowns in his girdle, dispatched him for the money. Yet to such men as these he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this he took Cabira, and many other places of strength, in which he found much treasure. He likewise found in their prisons many Greeks, and several of the king's own relations, confined; and, as they had long thought themselves in the most desperate circumstances, the liberty which they gained by the favour of Lucullus, appeared to them not so much a deliverance, as a resurrection and a new life. One of the king's sisters named Nyssa, very happily for her, was of the number. The other sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed placed more remote from danger, and at a distance from war, all perished miserably: he sent the eunuch Bacchides to Phernacia, with orders to see them put to death.

Among the rest were two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and still virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Berenice of Chios, and Monime of Miletus. The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to listen to a lawless passion, and made her a present of fifteen thousand crowns at one time, she rejected all his solicitations till he agreed to marriage, sent her a diadem, and declared her queen. Before the last sad message, she had passed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation on that beauty, which instead of a husband had procured her an imperious master, and instead of the domestic comforts of marriage, a guard of barbarians. Banished far from Greece, she had lost the real blessings of life, and where she hoped for happiness, found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came, and informed those princesses they must die, but that they were at liberty to choose the

death most easy and agreeable to them, Monime snatching the diadem from her head, applied it to her neck, that it might do the fatal office. But it broke, and the princess said, "O cursed band! wouldst thou not, at least, serve me on this occasion?" Then spitting upon it, she threw it from her, and stretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Berenice took poison: and as her mother, who was present, begged a share of it, she granted her request. They both drank of it; and its force operated sufficiently upon the weaker body: but Berenice, not having taken a proper quantity, was long of dying. Bacchides therefore strangled her. Roxana, one of the unmarried sisters, after having vented the most bitter imprecations and reproaches against Mithridates, took poison. Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he must have his anxieties about his own life, for not forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undishonoured. These events were very disagreeable to the native goodness and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his pursuit of Mithridates as far as Talaura; where having learned that he was fled four days before into Armenia to Tigranes, he turned back again. He subdued, however, the Chaldæans and Tibarenians, and reduced the less Armenia, with the towns and castles. Then he sent Appius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates; and in the mean time returned to Amisus, which his troops were still besieging. The length of the siege was owing to Callimachus who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, skilled in every art of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he suffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himself of a stratagem, against which he had not guarded. He made a sudden assault at the time when Callimachus used to draw off his men for refreshment. Thus he made himself master of some part of the wall; upon which Callimachus, either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own escape, set fire to the town, and quitted it; for no one paid any attention to those who fled by sea. The flames spread with great rapidity around the walls, and the soldiers prepared themselves to pillage the houses. Lucullus, in commise-

ration of a fine city thus sinking into ruin, endeavoured to assist it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguish the fire. But they paid no regard to him; they went on collecting the spoils, and clashing their arms; till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of saving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwise. In rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they set fire to many of the houses themselves. So that when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he said to his friends, with tears in his eyes, "I have often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but never so much as I do this day. He desired to save Athens, and succeeded. I wished to imitate him on this occasion; but instead of that, the gods have classed me with Mummius*."

Nevertheless, he endeavoured to restore the place, as far as its unhappy circumstances would permit. A shower, which providentially fell about the time it was taken, extinguished the fire, and saved many of the buildings; and, during his stay, he rebuilt most of those that were destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as had fled, he received with pleasure, and added to them a draught of other Greeks, who were willing to settle there. At the same time, he gave them a territory of a hundred and twenty furlongs.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted here at a time when their power was at the height; and they were masters of the sea. Hence it was, that those who fled from the tyranny of Aristion, retired to Amisus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they lost at home. The remainder of them Lucullus now clothed in an honourable manner, gave each two hundred drachmas, and sent them back into their own country. Tyrannio, the grammarian, was of the number. Muræna begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchised him; in which he acted ungenerously by his superior officers present. Lucullus would not have been willing that a man so honoured for his learning, should be first considered as a slave, and then set free. The real liberty he was born to, must be taken away, before he could have this seeming freedom. But this was not the only instance in

* The destroyer of Corinth.

which Muræna acted with less generosity than became an officer of his rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Asia, that he might bestow the time which was not employed in war, on the promotion of law and justice. These had long lost their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unspeakable misfortunes. It was desolated and enslaved by the farmers of the revenue, and by usurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to sell the most beautiful of their sons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the statues of their gods. The last resource was to serve their creditors as slaves. Their sufferings prior to this, were more cruel and insupportable; prisons, racks, tortures, exposures to the burning sun in summer, and in winter to the extremity of cold, amidst ice or mire; insomuch that servitude seemed a happy deliverance, and a scene of peace. Lucullus, finding the cities in such dreadful distress, soon rescued the oppressed from all their burdens.

In the first place, he ordered the creditors not to take above one in the hundred for a month's interest;* in the next place, he abolished all interest that exceeded the principal: the third and most important regulation, was, that the creditor should not take above a fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took interest upon interest, he was to lose all. By these means, in less than four years, all the debts were paid, and the estates restored free to the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had laid upon Asia, was twenty thousand talents. It had been paid twice; and yet the merciless collectors, by usury upon usury, now brought it to a hundred and twenty thousand talents.

These men, pretending they had been unjustly treated, raised a clamour in Rome against Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to speak against him. They had, indeed, a considerable interest, because many persons who had a share in the administration, were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was beloved not only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and

* This was the legal interest among the Romans. Whence we may learn the comparative scarcity of money in those times.

they longed for a governor who had made such numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who was sent ambassador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at first fell into the hands of guides that were subjects to Mithridates. These men made him take an unnecessary circuit of many days journey in the upper countries; but at last an enfranchised servant of his, a Syrian by nation, discovered to him the imposition, and showed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days passed the Euphrates, and reached Antioch of Daphne.*

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes, who was then employed in reducing some cities of Phœnicia; and he found means to bring over to the Roman interest many princes who submitted to the Armenian out of pure necessity. Among these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately sent deputies to Clodius; and he promised them all the succour Lucullus could give, but desired they would make no immediate resistance. The Armenian government, was indeed, an insupportable burden to the Greeks; particularly, the king's pride, through a long course of prosperity, was become so enormous, that he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world, was not only in his power, but even made for him. For, though his prospects at first were small and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonized Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the *scenite* † Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himself of their mercantile abilities. He had many kings at his court in the capacity of servants, and four in particular as mace-bearers or footmen, who whenever he rode on horseback, ran be-

* Among several cities of that name, this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of distinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, consecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of a large extent, several of them probably of laurel; in the midst of which stood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a sanctuary.

† Probably so called from their living in tents.

fore him in short jerkins; and, when he sat to give audience, stood by with their hands clasped together; which last circumstance seems a mark of the lowest slavery, a token that they had not only resigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to suffer than to act.

Appius, not in the least disconcerted at all this pomp, plainly set forth his commission, at his first audience, "That he was come to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwise he must declare war against Tigranes." Whatever efforts that prince made to receive the message with an easy countenance and a kind of smile, it was visible to all, that he was affected with the young man's bold address. This was, indeed, the first free speech he had heard for five-and-twenty years; for so long he had been a king, or rather a tyrant. However, the answer he gave Appius, was, "That he would not deliver up Mithridates; and if the Romans began the war, he was able to defend himself." He was displeased with Lucullus for giving him, in his letter, barely the title of king, and not that of king of kings; and therefore, in his answer, he would not address him as *Imperator*.* This did not hinder him from sending magnificent presents to Appius; and, when he found he did not accept them, he sent more. At last Appius, that he might not seem to reject them out of any particular pique, took a cup, and sent back all the rest. Then he returned with the utmost expedition to his general.

Before this, Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his presence, nor to speak to a prince who was so nearly allied to him, and who had lately lost so great a kingdom. He had sent him in a contemptuous manner to remote marshes and a sickly air, where he was kept like a prisoner. But now he called him to court with great marks of honour and regard. In a private conference, they exculpated themselves at the expence of their friends. Metrodorus, the Scepsian, was of the number; an able speaker, and a man of extensive erudition, who had been in such high favour that he was styled the

* The English word *general* is not entirely equivalent to the Greek αυτοκρατης, or the Latin *imperator*, which was afterwards the title of the emperors.

king's father. It seems, when he went abassador from Mithridates to the Armenian court to beg assistance against the Romans, Tigranes said, "What would you, Metrodorus advise me to in this case?" Whether it was, that he had the interest of Tigranes in view, or whether he wanted to see Mithridates absolutely ruined, he answered, "As an ambassador, I should exhort you to it; but as your counsellor, I should advise you against it." Tigranes discovered this to Mithridates, not imagining he would resent it in the manner he did. The unfortunate prince immediately put Metrodorus to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the step he had taken, though he was not absolutely the cause of that minister's death, but only added stings to the hatred Mithridates had long entertained for him. This appeared when his private memorandums were taken, in which Metrodorus was found among those marked out for the axe. Tigranes buried him honourably, and spared no expence in his funeral though he had been the cause of his death.

Amphicrates, the orator, likewise died at that court, if we may be allowed to record his name for the sake of Athens. He is said to have been banished his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants desired him to open a school of rhetoric, but he answered, in the most contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a sophist, "That a plate could not contain a dolphin." From thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, where he soon made himself so obnoxious, that he was forbidden all intercourse with the Greeks; upon which he starved himself to death. Cleopatra bestowed upon *him* too a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having established peace and good laws in Asia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleasure; but during his stay at Ephesus, entertained the Grecian cities with shows, triumphal feasts, and trials of skill between wrestlers and gladiators. The cities in return, instituted a feast to his honour which they called *Lucullia;* and the real affection that inspired them with the thought, was more agreeable than the honour itself.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was necessary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus and put himself at the head of his troops. His first operation was to lay siege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Silicians who had thrown themselves into the town on the part of Mithridates. These, upon the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and after setting fire to the place, endeavoured to escape in the night. But Lucullus discovering their intention, entered the town, and having killed eight thousand of them who were left behind, restored their effects to the old inhabitants, and exerted himself greatly in saving the city from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream: He dreamed that a person stood by him, and said, "Go forward, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to meet you." When he awaked, he could form no conjecture about the signification of the dream. However, he took the city the same day, and in pursuing the Cilicians to their ships, he saw a statue lying on the shore, which they had not been able to get on board. The work was one of the master pieces of Sthenis; and he was told that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope. This Autolycus is said to have been the son of Deimachus, and one of those Thessalians who assisted Hercules in the war against the Amazons.* In his voyage back, along with Demoleon and Phlogius, his ship struck on a rock of the Chersonesus called Pedalion, and he lost it. He and his friends, however saved their lives and their arms, and went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians. The Syrians, who then held it, we are told, were so called, because they were the descendants of Syrus the son of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Asopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the observation of Sylla in his commentaries, "That nothing more deserves our belief and attention, than what is signified to us in dreams."

After news was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with all their forces, in order to seize Asia before him, he could

* Strabo tells us, Autolycus was one of the Argonauts, who, after his voyage to Colchis, settled at Sinope, and had divine honours paid him after his death. *Strab.* l. xii.

not help thinking it strange, that the Armenian did not make use of Mithridates when in his glory, nor join the armies of Pontus while they were in their full strength, but suffered them to be broken and destroyed; and now at last with cold hopes of success began the war, or rather threw himself down headlong with those who could stand no longer.

Amidst these transactions, Machares, the son of Mithridates, who was master of the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus a coronet of gold of a thousand crowns value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding that the first war was finished, left Sornatius, with a corps of six thousand men, to settle the affairs of that province; and with twelve thousand foot, and less than three thousand horse, marched to meet another war. It seemed amazing temerity to go with a handful of men against so many warlike nations, so many myriads of cavalry, and such a vast country, intersected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for ever covered with snow. Of course his soldiers, who were not otherwise under the best discipline, now followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, the popular orators clamoured against him in Rome, representing that he levied war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command, and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches at the risk of the commonwealth. These at last suceeeded in their design, which was to recal Lucullus.

At present he reached the Euphrates by long marches. He found it swoln and overflowing by reason of the late rains, and was apprehensive he should find much delay and difficulty in collecting boats and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to subside, and lessen in such a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared much within the channel. The people of the country seeing little islands in its bed, which had seldom been visible, and the stream breaking gently about them, considered Lucullus as something more than mortal; for they saw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and easy passage.

He availed himself of the opportunity, and passed it with his army. An auspicious omen appeared immedi-

ately after. A number of heifers, sacred to the Persian Diana, the goddess whom the inhabitants of those parts particularly worship, pastured on the other side. These heifers are used only in the way of sacrifice; at other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, as a token of their designation; and it was difficult to take them when they were wanted. But now the army had no sooner crossed the river, than one of them went and stood by a rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and hanging down her head in the manner of those that are bound, offered herself to Lucullus as a victim. He sacrificed also a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his safe passage.

He stayed there that whole day to refresh his army. The next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the least injury to those who submitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to stop and take a fort that was supposed to be full of treasure, he pointed to Mount Taurus, which appeared at a distance, and said, "Yonder is the fort you are to take; as for these things, they will of course belong to the conqueror." Then, pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

As Tigranes ordered the first man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to lose his head for his reward, no one afterwards presumed to mention it. He remained in ignorance, though the hostile fire already touched him; and with pleasure heard his flatterers say, "Lucullus would be a great general, if he waited for Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not quit Asia at the sight of his vast armies." Thus it is not every man that can bear much wine, nor can an ordinary mind bear great prosperity without staggering. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty he had taken. He was sent against Lucullus with three thousand horse, and a more respectable body of foot, with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the rest under his feet.

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the rest were upon the march, when the scouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand. He had, therefore, his apprehensions, that if they attacked him

before his troops were all assembled and formed, they might be put in disorder. The measure he took was to stay and intrench himself: mean time he sent his lieutenant Sextilius with sixteen hundred horse, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy-armed, with orders, when he approached the enemy, to stop and amuse them, till he should be informed that the intrenchments were finished.

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him so boldly, that he was forced to fight. Mithrobarzanes behaved with great bravery, but fell in the action. Then his troops took to flight, and were most of them cut in pieces.

After this, Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to Mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces. But Lucullus, not giving him much time for preparation, sent Muræna to harass and cut off the parties on one side, as fast as they came up; on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king. Sextilius came upon the Arabians as they were encamping, and killed the greatest part of them. Muræna following the steps of Tigranes, took his opportunity to attack him, as he was leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile. The king himself fled, abandoning all his baggage. Many of the Armenians were put to the sword, and greater numbers made prisoners.

Lucullus, after this success, marched against Tigranocerta, and invested it with his army. There were in that city many Greeks who had been transplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians, whose fortunes had been no better than that of the Greeks, Adiabenians, Assyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, and then removed the inhabitants, and compelled them to settle in that he had built. The place was full of treasure and rich ornaments; every private person, as well as grandee, to make their court to the king, striving which should contribute most to its embellishment. For this reason Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigour, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, dissuaded the king much from hazard-

ing a battle, and advised him only to cut off the Roman convoys with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to co-operate with Tigranes, entreated him to avoid meeting the Roman arms, which he assured him were invincible.

At first the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians had brought in their armies; when numbers of Arabians came from the coasts of the Babylonian sea,* Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians from the neighbourhood of the Albanians; beside a considerable body gained by presents and persuasion, from those nations about the Araxes that live without regal government: then nothing was expressed at the king's table or council-board, but sanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppose the resolution to give battle, and Mithridates himself was accused of envying the glorious success that would attend his son-in-law.

Tigranes, therefore, would not wait for him, lest he should share with him the honour of the victory; but advanced immediately with all his forces; and is said to have expressed to his friends some uneasiness, "That he should have to do only with Lucullus, and not try his strength at once with all the generals of Rome." Indeed these boasts of the king do not appear entirely frantic and destitute of reason, while he was surveying so many nations and princes under his standard, such astonishing numbers of heavy-armed infantry, and so many myriads of cavalry. He had twenty thousand archers and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horse, of which seventeen thousand were clad in steel, according to the account Lucullus sent the senate. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand men; and there were thirty-five thousand pioneers, and other labourers, to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, to cleanse the course of rivers, to provide wood, and to answer all the occasions of the army. These were drawn up behind, to give it a greater appearance of strength and numbers.

When he had passed Mount Taurus, and spread his troops upon the plain, he could see the Roman army be-

* The Persian gulf.

sieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a council of war. Some advised him to quit the siege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces; others were of opinion, that he should continue the siege and not leave so many enemies behind him. He told them, that neither separately, gave good council, but both together did. He therefore divided his forces, and left Muræna before the place with six thousand men; while he with the rest of the infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which contained not more than ten thousand combatants, with all his cavalry and about a thousand slingers and archers marched against Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him; where his army appearing no more than a handful, afforded much matter of mirth to the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed the diminutive appearance; others, by way of jest, cast lots for the spoil. And there was not one of the generals and princes, who did not come and desire to be employed alone upon that service, while Tigranes needed only to sit still and look on. The king too, thinking he must show himself facetious on the occasion made use of that celebrated expression, "That if they came as ambassadors there were too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." Thus they passed the first day in raillery.

Next morning at break of day Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the east side of the river. But the river where it is most fordable, makes a bend to the west. As Lucullus marched hastily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this he called to Taxiles, and said with a scornful smile, "Seest thou not these invincible Roman legions taking to flight?" Taxiles answered, "I wish from my soul, my lord, that your good genius may work a miracle in your favour; but these legions do not use their best accoutrements in a mere march. They do not wear their polished shields, nor take their bright helmets out of their cases as you see they have now done. All this splendid appearance indicates their intention to

fight, and to advance against their enemies as fast as possible."

While Taxiles was yet speaking, they saw the eagle of the foremost legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river.

Then Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from his intoxication and exclaimed two or three times, "Are these men coming against us?" After this, he drew out his forces in a hasty and disorderly manner; taking himself the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing were placed most of the cavalry that were armed in steel.

As Lucullus was going to pass the river, some of his officers admonished him to beware of that day, which had been an inauspicious, or (as they called it) a black one to the Romans: for on that day Cæpio's army was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable answer, "I will make this day too an auspicious one for Rome." It was the sixth of October.

Having thus spoken, and withal exhorted his men to exert themselves, he advanced at the head of them against the enemy. He was armed with a breastplate of steel formed in scales, which cast a surprising lustre; and the robe he wore over it was adorned with fringe. He drew his sword immediately, to show his troops the necessity of coming hand to hand with an enemy who were accustomed to fight at a distance; and by the vigour of their charge not to leave them room to exercise their missive weapons. Observing that the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry upon which they had their chief dependence, was covered by a hill that was plain and even at the top, and which, with an extent of only four furlongs, was not very difficult to ascend, he dispatched his Thracian and Gaulish horse, with orders to take them in flank, and to strike at nothing but the shafts of their pikes. Their whole strength, indeed, consists in the pike, and they have no other weapon either offensive or defensive, that they can use, by reason of their heavy and unwieldly armour, in which they are as it were immured.

Meanwhile he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry, and the soldiers followed him with great readiness, when they saw him, encumbered as he was with his armour, the first to labour on foot up the ascent. When he had reached the summit, he stood on the most conspicuous part of it, and cried out, "The victory is ours, my fellow soldiers, the victory is ours?" At the same time he advanced against the heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make any use of their javelins, but to come to close action and to aim their blows at their enemies legs and thighs in which parts alone they were not armed. There was no need however, to put this in execution; for, instead of standing to receive the Romans they set up a cry of fear, and most despicably fled without striking a stroke. In their flight they and their horses, heavy with armour, ran back upon their own infantry and put them in confusion; insomuch that all those myriads were routed, without standing to receive one wound, or spilling one drop of blood. Multitudes, however, were slain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks being so thick and deep, that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off, one of the first, with a few attendants: and seeing his son taking his share in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it him with tears, and desired him to save himself in the best manner he could by taking some other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it in the hands of one of his most faithful servants, who happened afterwards to be taken and brought to Lucullus: By this means the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honours of the spoil. It is said that of the foot there fell above a hundred thousand, and of the horse very few escaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and a hundred wounded. Antiochus the philosopher,* in his Treatise concerning the Gods, speaking of this action, says, the sun never beheld such another. Strabo,† another philosopher, in his Historical Commentaries informs us, that the Romans were ashamed, and ridiculed each other, for

* Antiochus of Escalon. Cicero was his disciple.

† Strabo, the geographer and historian, was also a philosopher of the Stoic form.

having employed weapons against such vile slaves. And Livy tells us, the Romans, with such inferior numbers, never engaged such a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed, make up the twentieth part of the vanquished. The most able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the highest compliments to the generalship of Lucullus, principally because he had defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different; the one by an expeditious, and the other by a slow process He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes by the celerity of his movements. Indeed, among all the generals in the world there have been very few instances of any one's availing himself of delay for execution, or of expedition for security.

Hence it was, that Mithridates made no haste to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his usual caution and slowness. But as soon as he met a few Armenians on the road, with the greatest marks of consternation upon them, he formed some conjecture of what had happened; and when many more came up naked and wounded, he was too well assured of the loss, and enquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the most destitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the least insult. Instead of that, he dismounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes; gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a prospect of better success. They began to levy other forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied against the barbarians and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the assault, and took it. After he had secured the royal treasures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his soldiers, and they found there, besides other rich booty, eight thousand talents in coined money. Lucullus added eight hundred drachmas to each man's share.

Being informed that there were found in the town a number of such artists as are requisite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts, for opening the theatre he had built, he made use of them

in the games and other public diversions, in honour of his victory.

He sent back the Greeks to their own countries, and furnished them with necessaries for that purpose. He likewise permitted the barbarians, who had been compelled to settle there, to return to their respective abodes. Thus it happened, that, by the dispersion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reason Lucullus was reverenced by them as a patron and founder. He succeeded also in his other undertakings, agreeably to his merit; being more desirous of the praise of justice and humanity, than of that which arises from military achievements. For in those the army claims no small part, and fortune a greater; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle disposition, and subdued mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to submit without the sword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their possessions in his power; the whole nation of Sophene followed their example; and the Gordyenians were so well inclined to serve him, that they were willing to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. The cause was this:

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable, as has been said, to support the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and desired to be admitted as an ally. This application being discovered, he was put to death with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it, but as he passed through Gordyene, took care that Zarbienus should have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with gold stuffs and royal vestments found among the spoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himself set fire to it, and, together with the friends and relations of the deceased, offered the accustomed libations, declaring him his friend, and ally of the Roman people. He caused a monument, too, to be erected to his memory at a considerable expence: for there was found in the treasury of that prince a great quantity of gold and silver; there were found also in his storehouses three millions of medimni of wheat. This was a sufficient provision for the soldiers; and Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itself, and carrying it

on without taking one drachma out of the public treasury.

About this time, there came an embassy from the king of Parthia to solicit his friendship and alliance. Lucullus received the proposal with pleasure, and sent ambassadors in his turn; who, when they were at that prince's court, discovered that he was unresolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Mesopotamia, as a reward for the succours with which he should furnish him. As soon as Lucullus was sensible of this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adversaries already tired out, and to try his strength with the Parthian, by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if in one expedition, during the tide of good fortune, like an able wrestler, he would throw three princes successively, and traverse the dominions of three of the most powerful kings under the sun, perpetually victorious.

For this reason he sent orders to Sornatius and his other officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. These officers had already found their soldiers refractory and obstinate, but now they saw them absolutely mutinous, and not to be wrought upon by any method of persuasion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even stay there, but would go and leave Pontus itself unguarded. When an account of this behaviour was brought to Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had with him; and they were very ready to receive these impressions, loaded as they were with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repose. Upon hearing, therefore, of the bold terms in which the others had expressed themselves, they said they acted like men, and set an example worthy of imitation: "And surely," continued they, "our services entitle us to a discharge that we may return to our own country, and enjoy ourselves in security and quiet."

These speeches, and worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more against Tigranes. It was now the height of summer, and yet when he had gained the summit of Mount Taurus, he saw with regret the corn only green: so backward are the seasons in those

parts, by reason of the cold that prevails there.* He descended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians, who ventured to face him, in two or three skirmishes. Then he plundered the villages at pleasure, and by taking the convoys designed for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy, which he had dreaded himself.

He omitted no measure which might bring them to a decisive battle: he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp; he laid waste their country before their eyes: but they had been too often defeated, to think of risking an engagement. He therefore marched against Artaxata the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children; concluding he would not suffer it to be taken, without attempting its relief.

It is said, that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus was subdued by the Romans, addressed himself to Artaxas king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, beside instructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happiest situation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, desired him to take the direction of the work; and in a short time there was seen a large and beautiful city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay siege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in quest of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsanias, which they must necessarily pass in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having sacrificed to the gods, in full persuasion that the victory was his own, passed over in order of battle with twelve cohorts in front. The rest were placed in the rear, to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy; for their motions were watched by a large and select body of cavalry, covered by some flying squadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian spearmen, in whose courage and skill Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the highest confidence. Their behaviour, however,

* This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us, the snow lies their till August.

did not distinguish them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman horse, but did not wait the charge of the infantry. They dispersed and fled, and the Roman cavalry pursued them in the different routes they had taken.

Tigranes now seeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers and the splendour of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the pursuit; and in the mean time was the foremost to advance against the nobility,* who, with the flower of the army, were about the king's person. But they fled at the sight of him, without striking a blow. Of the three kings that were then in the action the flight of Mithridates seems to have been the most disgraceful, for he did not stand the very shouts of the Romans. The pursuit continued the whole night, until wearied with the carnage, and satisfied with the prisoners, and the booty they made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken prisoners: but in this, persons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his success, resolved to penetrate the upper country, and to finish the destruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with storms he did not expect. The snow fell almost constantly; and when the sky was clear, the frost was so intense, that by reason of the extreme cold the horses could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they pass them but with the utmost difficulty, because the ice broke, and cut the sinews of their legs. Besides, the greatest part of their march was through close and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the snow that lodged upon the trees; and they had only damp places wherein to pass the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days, before they began to be refractory. At first they had recourse to entreaties, and sent their tribunes to intercede

* In the original it is Σατραπηων; by which, in all probability, is meant the king's body guard, consisting chiefly of the nobility. According to Livy, no less than sixty of Tigranes's friends and great officers walked in the procession of Lucullus's triumph. Nor is to be wondered that he had a guard of his own nobility, when he had conquered princes for his menial servants.

for them. Afterwards they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is the surest token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every milder measure could do: he exhorted them only to compose themselves a little longer, until they had destroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal the greatest enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and passed the ridge of Mount Taurus another way. He came down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where stands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Nisibis, and the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia.* Gouras, brother to Tigranes, had the title of governor, on account of his dignity; but the commander in fact was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus so much trouble at Amisus.

Lucullus, having invested the place, availed himself of all the arts that are used in a siege, and pressed the place with so much vigour that he carried it sword in hand. Gouras surrendered himself, and he treated him with great humanity. He would not, however, listen to Callimachus, though he offered to discover to him a vast quantity of hidden treasure; but put him in fetters, in order that he might suffer capital punishment for setting fire to the city of Amisus, and by that means depriving him of the honour of showing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto one might say, fortune had followed Lucullus and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favour fell; he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and struck upon every rock in his way. He behaved, indeed, with all the valour and persevering spirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, tossed as he was on the waves of fruitless contention, he was in danger of losing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himself, because, in the first place, he would never study to oblige the common soldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations as

* It was called Antioch, because in its delicious walks and pleasing situation it resembled the Antioch of Daphne.

the source of his disgrace and the destruction of his authority. What was of still greater consequence, he could not behave in an easy affable manner to those who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtiness, and considered himself as greatly their superior. These blemishes Lucullus had amidst many perfections. He was tall, well-made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the administration as well as for the field.

Sallust tells us, the soldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, because he made them keep the field two winters successively, the one before Cyzicum, and the other before Amisus. The rest of the winters were very disagreeable to them; they either passed them in hostilities against some enemy; or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents: for Lucullus never once suffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, or any other in alliance with Rome.

While the soldiers were of themselves thus ill-disposed, they were made still more mutinous by the demagogues at home; who, through envy to Lucullus, accused him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches it procured him. He had almost the entire direction (they said) of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phasis: and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent to strip, not to subdue kings. So Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is said to have expressed himself; the same who was principally concerned in procuring a decree, that Lucullus should have a successor sent him, and that most of his troops should have their discharge.

To these misfortunes was added another, which absolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Publius Clodius, a man of the utmost insolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife, who was so abandoned a woman, that it was believed she had a criminal commerce with him. He now bore arms under Lucullus, and imagined he had not the post he deserved; for he wanted the first: and on account of his disorderly life, many were put before him. Finding this, he practised with the Fimbrian troops, and endea-

voured to set them against Lucullus, by flattering speeches and insinuations, to which they were neither unaccustomed, nor unwilling to attend: For these were the men whom Fimbria had formerly persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and to appoint him their general. Still retaining such inclinations, they received Clodius with pleasure, and called him the soldier's friend. He did, indeed, pretend to be concerned at their sufferings, and used to say, "Shall there no period be put to their wars and toils? shall they go on fighting one nation after another, and wear out their lives in wandering over the world? and what is the reward of so many laborious expeditions? what, but to guard the waggons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with cups of gold and precious stones? whereas Pompey's soldiers, already discharged, sit down with their wives and children upon fertile estates, and in agreeable towns; not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into inaccessible deserts, and destroying the royal cities in Asia, but for fighting with fugitives in Spain and slaves in Italy. If we must forever have our swords in our hands, let us reserve all our hearts, and what remains of our limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his men his greatest ornament."

These complaints against Lucullus corrupted his soldiers in such a manner, that they would neither follow him against Tigranes, nor yet against Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himself into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there. They pretended it was impracticable to march in the winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or some other general would come as successor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching against Sornatius and Triarius, they were ashamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleased.

Triarus being informed of the approach of Lucullus, was ambitious, before he arrived, to seize the victory, which he thought perfectly secure; in consequence of which he hazarded and lost a great battle. It is said that about seven thousand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewise took their camp. Lucullus arrived

a few days after, fortunately enough for Triarius, whom he concealed from the soldiers, who wanted to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates avoided an action with Lucullus, and chose to wait for Tigranes, who was coming with a great army, Lucullus, in order to prevent their junction, determined to go in quest of Tigranes once more. But as he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinied and deserted his standard, alleging that they were discharged by an express decree, and no longer obliged to serve under Lucullus, when those provinces were consigned to another. Lucullus, on this occasion, submitted to many things beneath his dignity. He applied to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with a supplicating aspect and with tears in his eyes; nay, he condescended to take some of them by the hand. But they rejected all his advances, and, throwing down their empty purses before him, bade him go and fight the enemy himself, since he was the only person that knew how to make his advantage of it.

However, as the other soldiers interposed, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon to stay all the summer, on condition that if no enemy faced them in the field during that time, they should be at liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this proposal or to abandon the country, or to leave it an easy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exercise any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle; thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon the spot. At the same time he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was growing strong and insolent again; though he had acquainted the senate by letter, that he was absolutely conquered, and deputies were come to settle the affairs of Pontus, as a province entirely reduced. These deputies, on their arrival, found that he was not even master of himself, but exposed to every instance of insult and contempt from his own soldiers. Nay, they treated their general with such wanton mockery, as, when the summer was past, to arm, and challenge the enemy, who were now retiring into quarters. They shouted as in the charge, made passes in the air, and then left the

camp, calling Lucullus to witness that they had stayed the time they promised him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, through his interest with the people, and the flattering insinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general against Mithridates and Tigranes. To the senate, indeed, and all the best of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, since a person was sent to succeed him, not so much in the war as in his triumph; and he was robbed rather of the prize of honour than of the command. Those that were upon the spot found the matter still more inviduous. Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding or punishing. Pompey suffered no man to wait upon him about any business whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten commissioners. He forbade it by express and public orders; and his influence was great, on account of his coming with a more respectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they should come to an interview; and accordingly they did so in a village of Galatia. They addressed each other with much politeness, and with mutual compliments on their great success. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had superior diginity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the *fasces* carried before him, adorned with laurel on account of their respective victories; but as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *fasces* were withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus observing this, freely gave them a sufficient quantity of their fresh and green ones; which Pompey's friends considered as an auspicious circumstance. And, in fact, the great actions of Lucullus did cast a lustre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect; They parted with greater rancour in their hearts than they entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus: and taking the rest of his troops from him, left him only sixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even these followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified, or so unfortunate, was Lucullus with respect to the first and great-

est requisite in a general gaining the hearts of his soldiers. Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence, and justice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated, on the side of Asia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian sea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations; and the power of the Parthians was neither so great nor so united in itself, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it was afterwards in the time of Crassus. On the contrary, they were weakened by intestine wars and by hostilities with their neighbours, insomuch that they were not able to repel the insults of the Armenians. In my opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus, were not equivalent to the calamities which he occasioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia just in the neighbourhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Nisibis, with all their vast wealth carried in triumph to Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the show, drew Crassus into Asia; as if its barbarous inhabitants had been a sure and easy prey. However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he soon found that the success of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, for the practices he had given in to during his quæstorship, by order of Sylla. And when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned against Lucullus himself; alleging that he had converted a great deal of the booty to his own private use, and had wilfully protracted the war. By these means he endeavoured to exasperate the people against him, and to prevail with them to refuse him his triumph. Lucullus was in great danger of losing it; but at this crisis the first and greatest men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and, after much canvassing and the most engaging application, with great difficulty procured him the triumph.

Its glory did not consist like that of others in the length of the procession, or in the astonishing pomp and quantity of spoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the engines and other warlike equipage of the kings. With these he had adorned the Circus Flaminius, and

they made a very agreeable and respectable show. In the procession there were a few of the heavy armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed with scythes, These were followed by sixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the kings. After them were drawn a hundred and ten galleys with brazen beaks. The next objects were a statue of Mithridates in massy gold, full six feet high, and his shield set with precious stones, Then came up twenty exhibitions of silver vessels, and two-and-thirty more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All these things were borne by men. These were followed by eight mules which carried beds of gold, and fifty-six more loaded with silver bullion. After these came a hundred and seven other mules, bearing silver coin to the amount of near two million seven hundred thousand drachmas. The procession was closed with the registers of the money with which he had furnished Pompey for the war with the pirates, what he had remitted the quæstors for the public treasury, and the distributions he had made among the soldiers, at the rate of nine hundred and fifty drachmas each man.... The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the sister of Cato ; but this second match was not more fortunate than the first. Servilia wanted no stain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other respects she was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himself however, to endure her a long time out of reverence to Cato, but at last repudiated her too.

The senate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector to the whole patrician order ; the rather because he had acquired so much honour and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cause, however, and quitted all pretensions to the administration : Whether it was that he saw the constitution in too sickly and declining a condition to be corrected : or whether, as others will have it, that being satiated with public honours, and having gone through many labours and conflicts which had not the most fortunate issue, he chose to retire to a life of ease and idulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much bet-

ter than the distempered measures of Marius: who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, was not content with the admiration of his countrymen, but from an insatiable thirst of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into sufferings still more dreadful. "How much happier, said they, "would it have been for Cicero if he had retired after the affair of Catiline; and for Scipio, if he had furled his sails, when he had added Numantia to Carthage. For there is a period when we should bid adieu to political contests; these, as well as those of wrestlers, being absurd, when the strength and vigour of life is gone."

On the other hand, Crassus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for giving into a life of pleasure and expence; thinking it full as unseasonable at his time of life to plunge into luxury, as to direct the administration or lead armies into the field. Indeed, the life of Lucullus does look like the ancient comedy,* where first we see great actions both political and military, and afterwards feasts, debauches (I had almost said masquerades), races by torch-light, and every kind of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths, and still more so, the paintings, statutes, and other works of art, which he collected at an immense expence; idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune which he had amassed in the wars;† Insomuch that even now, when luxury has made so much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with those of kings, and the most magnificent even of those. When Tubero the Stoic, beheld his works on the sea-coast near Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reservoirs he had formed about his houses, to receive the sea for the feeding of his

* The ancient satirical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comical. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only piece of that kind which is extant.

† Plutarch's philosophy seems a little too severe on this occasion; for it is not easy to see how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encouragement of the arts. It is to be observed, however, that the immense wealth Lucullus reserved to himself in his Asiatic expedition, in some measure justifies the complaints of his army on that subject.

fish, and his edifices in the sea itself; the philosopher called him Xerxes in a gown.* Beside these, he had the most superb pleasure-houses in the country near Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, on a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the summer, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What then, do you think I have not so much sense as the cranes and storks, which change their habitations with the seasons?"

A prætor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games, applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him, he would enquire, whether he could furnish him or not. Next day he asked him, how many he wanted. The prætor answered, "A hundred would be sufficient:" Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number if he pleased." The poet Horace makes this remark on the occasion:

> Poor is the house, where plenty has not stores
> That miss the master's eye.....

His daily repasts were like those of a man suddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds, which were covered with purple carpets; the side-board of plate set with precious stones, and all the entertainment which musicians and comedians could furnish; but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of men of unenlarged minds. Pompey, therefore, was highly applauded for the answer he gave his physician in a fit of sickness. The physician had ordered him to eat a thrush,† and his servants told him, "That, as it was summer, there were no thrushes to be found except in the menageries of Lucullus." But he would not suffer them to apply for

* This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admission of water. Xerxes had bored through Mount Athos, and made a passage under it for his ships.

† The Greek κιχλη, also signifies a sea-fish, as appears from Aristotle and Athenæus; and it is not easy to say which is here meant; for Lucullus was no less curious in his fish-ponds than in his aviaries; and by admitting salt-water into them, could be supplied with every species through every season.

them there; and said to his physician, "Must Pompey then have died, if Lucullus had not been an epicure?" At the same time, he bade them provide him something which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato though he was a friend, as well as relation, to Lucullus, was so much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unseasonable speech in the house about frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and said, "Will you never have done? Do you, who have the wealth of Crassus, and live like Lucullus, pretend to speak like Cato." But some, though they allow that there was such a rebuke, say it came from another person.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living, but even piqued himself upon it appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks who had travelled to Rome, till, remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they were ashamed to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expence they brought upon him. He smiled, and said, "It is true, my Grecian friends, some part of this provision is for you, but the greatest part is for Lucullus." Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision, he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said, he thought, as nobody was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "What!" said he, "didst thou not know that this evening Lucullus sups with Lucullus." As this was the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the *forum*, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and though he had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used to see each other, and converse freely and familiarly. Cicero, after the common salutations, asked him, "Whether he was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then we will wait on you." said Cicero, "this evening, on condition you give us nothing but what is provided for yourself." Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting the condition,

and desired them to put off their favour till another day. But they insisted, it should be that very evening, and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper; only, at his request, they allowed him to tell one of them in their presence, "He should sup that evening in the Apollo;" which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but it seems, each of his dining-rooms had its particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture; so that the servants hearing what room he would sup in, knew very well what expence they were to go to, and what side-board, and carpets they were to use, The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and the whole sum was laid out that evening. Pompey, of course, when he saw so vast and expensive a provision, was surprized at the expedition with which it was prepared. In this respect Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard one might expect to be shown to so many captives and barbarians.

But the great expence he incurred in collecting books, deserves a serious approbation. The number of volumes was great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the use he made of them was more honourable than the acquisition. His libraries were open to all: the Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation on matters of learning; delighted to retire to such a scene from business and from care. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them; and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his assistance and advice. So that his house was in fact an asylum and senate-house to all the Greeks that visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general, and there was no sect which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that which is called the new, though that flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades; but the old academy, whose doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with

great avidity; and having prevailed with him to give him his company, set him to oppose the disciples of Philo. Cicero was of the number, and wrote an ingenious book against the old academy, in which he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in dispute, namely, that there is such a thing as certain knowledge, and himself maintains the contrary. The book is entitled LUCULLUS..... They were, indeed, as we have observed, sincere friends, and acted upon the same principle in the administration; for Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government; he only gave up the point as to the first influence and direction. The contest for that, he saw, might be attended not only with danger but disgrace, and therefore he soon left it to Crassus and Cato. When he had refused to take the lead, those who looked upon the power of Pompey with a suspicious eye, pitched upon Crassus and Cato to support the patrician interests. Lucullus, notwithstanding, gave his attendance in the *forum* when the business of his friends required it; and he did the same in the senate-house, when there was any ambitious design of Pompey to combat. He got Pompey's order's annulled, which he had made after the conquest of the two king's; and, with the assistance of Cato, threw out his bill for a distribution of lands among his veterans.*

This threw Pompey into the arms of Crassus and Cæsar, or rather he conspired with them against the commonwealth; and having filled the city with soldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the *forum*, and got his acts established by force.

As these proceedings were highly resented by all who had the interest of their country at heart, Pompey's party instructed one Vectius † to act a part; and gave it out that they had detected him in a design against Pompey's

* Plutarch says simply νεμησιν τινα, a certain distribution, Amiot and Dacier say it was of money. But we agree with the Latin and former English translator, that it was of lands. Indeed, this appears to have been the case, from the ancient historians; who inform us, that it was in the same bill that Pompey moved to have all his acts in the East confirmed, and a distribution of lands made among his veterans.

† In the text it is Βρεττιον τινα, one Brettius, or a certain Brutian. But it is clear from Cicero, Appian, and Dion, that it should be read Vectius. The alteration is very easy from Βεκτιον to Βρεττιον.

life. When Vectius was examined in the senate, he said, it was at the instigation of others; but in the assembly of the people, he affirmed, Lucullus was the man who put him upon it. No one gave credit to the assertion; and a few days after, it was very evident that the wretch was suborned to accuse an innocent man, when his dead body was thrown out of the prison. Pompey's party said, he had laid violent hands upon himself; but the marks of the cord that had strangled him, and of the blows he had received, showed plainly that he was killed by the persons who suborned him.

This event made Lucullus still more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government; and when Cicero was banished, and Cato sent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. It is said, that his understanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was absolutely gone. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, asserts, that this failure of his intellects was not owing to sickness or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchised slave of his named Callisthenes. Nor did Callisthenes give it him as a poison, but as a love potion. However, instead of conciliating his master's regards to him, it deprived him of his senses: so that during the last years of his life, his brother had the care of his estate.

Nevertheless, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, as if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war, and in the administration, had raised him. They crowded to the procession: and the body being carried into the *forum* by some young men of the first quality, they insisted it should be buried in the *Campius Martius*, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not easily be made, his brother, with much entreaty, prevailed with them to have the obsequies performed on the Tusculan estate, where every thing was provided for that purpose. Nor did he long survive him. As he had followed him close in the course of years and honours, so he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave; to which he bore the character of the best and most affectionate of brothers.

CIMON AND LUCULLUS COMPARED.

WE cannot but think the exit of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to see that change in the constitution which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars. Though the commonwealth was in a sickly state, yet he left it free. In this respect the case of Cimon was particularly similar: For he died while Greece was at the height of her prosperity, and before she was involved in those troubles which proved so fatal to her. It is true, there is this difference, Cimon died in his camp, in the office of general; not like a man, who, fatigued with war, and avoiding its conflicts, sought the reward of his military labours, and of the laurels he had won, in the delicacies of the table, and the joys of wine. In this view Plato was right in his censure of the followers of Orpheus,* who had placed the rewards of futurity provided for the good, in everlasting intoxication. No doubt, ease, tranquillity, literary researches, and the pleasures of contemplation, furnish the most suitable retreat for a man in years, who has bid adieu to military and political pursuits. But to propose pleasure as the end of great achievements, and, after long expeditions and commands, to lead up the dance of Venus, and riot in her smiles, was so far from being worthy of the famed academy, and a follower of the sage Xenocrates, that it rather became a disciple of Epicurus. This is the more surprising, because Cimon seems to have spent his youth in luxury and dissipation, and Lucullus in letters and sobriety. It is certainly another thing, notwithstanding, to change for the better; and happier is the nature in which vices gradually die, and virtue flourishes.

They were equally wealthy, but did not apply their riches to the same purposes. For we cannot compare the

* The passage here alluded to, is in the second book of Plato's Republic. Plato censures not Orpheus, but Musæus and his son, for teaching this doctrine. Musæus and his son Eumolpus were, however, disciples of Orpheus; and τες περι τον Ορφεα may admit of that interpretation.

palace at Naples and the Belvideres amidst the water, which Lucullus erected with the barbarian spoils, to the south wall of the citadel which Cimon built with the treasure he brought from the wars. Nor can the sumptuous table of Lucullus, which favoured too much of eastern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of Cimon. The one at a moderate charge, daily nourished great numbers of poor: the other, at a vast expence, pleased the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, some allowance must be made for the difference of the time. We know not whether Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and retired from the concerns of war and of the state, might not have given into a more pompous and luxurious way of living; for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feasts and games, and remarkable, as we have observed, for his inclination for the sex. But glorious enterprises and great actions, being attended with pleasures of another kind, leave no leisure for inferior gratifications; nay, they banish them from the thoughts of persons of great abilities for the field and the cabinet. And if Lucullus had finished his days in high commands, and amidst the conflicts of war, I am persuaded, the most envious caviller could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with respect to their way of living.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland not only in wrestling, but in the *Pancration*,* are not simply called victors, but by the custom of the games, *the flowers of the victory*;† so Cimon, having crowned Greece with two victo-

* The pancration consisted of boxing and wrestling together.

† Ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾳ πάλῃ μιᾳ καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανωμένους, οὕτω τινὶ παραδόξῳ νίκας καλοῦσι.....

Here the second μιᾳ is visibly redundant, and therefore some other part of the passage may probably be corrupted. Henry Stephens conjectures, that instead of παραδόξῳ νίκας, we should read in one word παραδ-ξονίκας, and Salvini says he found the term in an ancient inscription Dacier, when he proposes to read περιοδονίκας *conquerors of the whole circle in games*, seems, by confounding it with the Pentathlon, to have forgot what the Pancration was. The Pentathlon, or five games, were boxing, the race, leaping, playing;

ries gained in one day, the one at land, the other a naval one, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

Lucullus was indebted to his country for his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding the allies, and under her auspices extended her conquests; the other found Athens obeying, instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as conquered her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea, and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the command.

If it be the greatest work of a general, to bring his men to obey him from a principle of affection, we shall find Lucullus greatly deficient in this respect. He was despised by his own troops, whereas Cimon commanded the veneration not only of his own soldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deserted by his own, and the latter was courted by strangers. The one set out with a fine army and returned alone, abandoned by that army; the other went out with troops subject to the orders they should receive from another general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the most difficult points imaginable, peace with the enemy, the lead among the allies, and a good understanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer great kingdoms, and to subdue all Asia, but their purposes were unsuccessful. Cimon's course was stopped by fortune; he died with his commission in his hand, and in the height of his prosperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot possibly be excused, as to the loss of his authority, since he must either have been ignorant of the grievances of his army, which ended in so incurable an aversion, or unwilling to redress them.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it is true,

at quoits, and wrestling. Dacier's words are these....." Cinq combats composoient ce qu'on apelloit le Pancrace, dont les Athletes etoient appellées Pentathle." But in fact, as we have observed above, the Pancration consisted only of two of the five united.

went farther; they banished Cimon by ostracism, that they might not as Plato expresses it, hear his voice for ten years. Indeed, the proceedings of the aristocratical party are seldom acceptable to the people; for, while they are obliged to use some violence for the correction of what is amiss, their measures resemble the bandages of surgeons, which are uneasy at the same time that they reduce the dislocation. But in this respect, perhaps we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the farthest. He was the first who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and passed the Tigris. He took and burnt the royal cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, Nisibis, in the sight of their respective kings. On the north he penetrated as far as the Phasis, on the east to Media, and on the south to the Red Sea, by the favour and assistance of the princes of Arabia. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled, like savages, into distant solitudes and inaccessible woods. A certain proof of the advantages Lucullus has in this respect, is, that the Persians, as if they had suffered nothing from Cimon, soon made head against the Greeks, and cut in pieces a great army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing after the blow they had received from Lucullus. Mithridates, enfeebled by the conflicts he had undergone, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field: instead of that, he fled to the Bosphorus, and there put a period to his life. As for Tigranes, he delivered himself naked and unarmed to Pompey, took his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet; in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus. The poor prince, by the joy with which he received the ensigns of royalty again, confessed that he had absolutely lost them. However, he must be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion, who delivers his adversary, weak and breathless, to the next combatant.

Besides, Cimon found the king of Persia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the losses and defeats they had experienced from Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much resistance, when their hearts were gone.

But Lucullus met Tigranes fresh and unfoiled, elated and exulting in the battles he had fought, and the victories he had won.* Nor is the number of the enemy's troops which Cimon defeated, in the least to be compared to that of those who gave battle to Lucullus.

In short, when we weigh all the advantages of each of these great men, it is hard to say to which side the balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favoured both; directing the one to what he should do, and warning the other what he should avoid: so that the gods bore witness of their virtue, and regarded them as persons in whom there was something divine.

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Crassus, as a proper person to be put in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes which befel the one in Parthia, with those which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a history, where Thucydides, in the pathetic, has even outdone himself, and in energy and variety of composition is perfectly inimitable; we hope no one will suspect we have the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himself he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make Philistus† pass for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of that deception, Timæus plunges into the midst of the battles both at sea and land, and speeches

* Πλειους δ' αν αξιον παραβαλειν τοις επι Λευκολλου συνελθουσι τους υπο Κιμωνος κρατηθεντας.

M. Dacier thinks, that if, beside the other advantages just mentioned, the advantage be also allowed Lucullus in respect of the number of barbarians he had defeated, the balance must clearly incline to his side.

But while he says this, he seems to have forgot the preference his author had given Cimon, in respect to his continuing his labours for his country to the last hour of his life; the more excellent use and application of riches; his knowing how to gain and keep the hearts of his soldiers; and his gaining important victories on two different elements in one day.

† Philistus was so able a writer, that Cicero calls him the younger Thucydides.

in which those historians shine the most. However, he soon appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car.

as Pindar expresses it, but a shallow puerile writer,* or, to use the words of the poet Diphilus,

——————A heavy animal
Cas'd in Sicilian lard——————

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus :† as where he says, "He could not but consider it as a bad omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with a name derived from victory,‡ who disapproved the expedition." As also, "That by the mutilation of the Hermæ, the gods presignified that they should suffer most in the Syracusan war from Hermocrates the son of Hermon."‖ And again, "It is probable that Hercules assisted the Syracusans, because Proserpine delivered up Cerberus to him; and that he was offended at the Athenians for supporting the Ægesteans, who were descended from the Trojans his mortal enemies, whose city he had sacked in revenge for the injuries he had received from Laomedon" He made these fine observations with the same discernment which put him upon the finding fault with the language of Philistus, and censuring the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

For my part, I cannot but think all emulation and jealousy about expression betrays a littleness of mind, and is the characteristic of a sophist; and when that spirit of contest attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly absurd.

* Timæus might have his vanity, and if he hoped to excel Thucydides, he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus speak of him as a very able historian. Longinus reconciles the censure and the praise. He says, sometimes you find him in the grand and sublime. But, blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to censure others and is so fond of thinking out of the common road that he often sinks into the utmost puerility.

† Xenarchus, the Peripatetic, was master to Strabo: and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of several pieces of humour; but we know no historian of that name.

‡ That is, Nicias. *Nice* signifies *victory*.

‖ Longinus quotes this passage as an example of the frigid style, and of those puerilities he had condemned in Timæus.

Since, therefore, it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded, especially such as indicate his manners and disposition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes: we shall give an abstract from them of what appears most necessary, lest we should be accused of negligence or indolence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians, or in ancient inscriptions and decrees, we shall collect them with care; not to gratify an useless curiosity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to serve the purposes of real instruction.

The first thing I shall mention relating to him, is the observation of Aristotle, That three of the most worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendship for the people, were, Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon. The last, indeed, was not so remarkable in this respect, as the other two; for he had been reproached with his birth, as a stranger come from the isle of Ceos; and from his want of firmness, or rather versatility, in matters of government, he was called *the Buskin.**

Thucydides was the oldest of the three; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often opposed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained some reputation while Pericles lived, insomuch that he was several times his colleague in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was soon advanced to the head of the administration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier against the daring insolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wishes of the people, and they contributed their share to his advancement.

It is true, Cleon had considerable interest, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of those whom he studied to oblige, seeing his avarice and

* The form of the buskin was such that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

effrontery, came over to Nicias; for the gravity of Nicias had nothing austere or morose in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people in which fear seemed to be prevalent, and consequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and cold-hearted; but this defect was concealed by the long course of success with which fortune favoured his expeditions: and his timidity in the assemblies of the people, and dread of persons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of those that despise them, and love to promote those that fear them; because in general the greatest honour they can hope to obtain, is not to be despised by the great.

As Pericles kept the reigns of government in his hands, by means of real virtue and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out false colours, or to use any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in those great endowments, but had superior riches; and he applied them to the purposes of popularity. On the other hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an easy manner and the sallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amused them with the chorusses of tragedy, with gymnastic exercises, and such like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and those of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be seen at this day; the one a statue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has lost part of its gilding; the other a small chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods, which are commonly offered up by those who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in those exhibitions. It is said, that in a chorus of that kind, one of his slaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The slave was of an uncommon size and beauty, but had not yet arrived at maturity: and the people were so charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At last, Nicias rose up and said, "He should think it an act of impiety to retain a person in servitude, who seemed by the public voice to be consecrated to a god;" and he enfranchised him upon the spot.

His regulations with respect to Delos, are still spoken of, as worthy of the deity who presides there. Before

his time, the choirs which the cities sent to sing the praises of Apollo,* landed in a disorderly manner, because the inhabitants of the island used to run up to the ship, and press them to sing before they were disembarked; so that they were forced to strike up, as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of Theoria, he landed first in the isle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other necessary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge constructed before he left Athens, which should reach from that isle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded and adorned with garlands, rich stuffs, and tapestry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large; and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the procession, with his choir richly habited, and singing hymns to the god. After the sacrifices, the games and banquets were over, he consecrated a palm-tree of brass to Apollo, and likewise a field which he had purchased for ten thousand drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in sacrifices and feasting, and at the same time to pray for Apollo's blessing upon the founder. This is inscribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the winds, and the fragment falling upon a great statue † which the people of Naxos had set up, demolished it.

It is obvious, that most of these things were done for ostentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheless, we may collect from the rest of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal share in these dedications, and that popularity was but a secondary motive; for he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and, as Thucydides observes, he was pious to a degree of superstition.‡ It is related in the dialogues of Pasiphon, that he sacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his house, who, in appearance, inquired the success of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftener consulted

* There was a select band of music annually sent by the principal cities of Greece. The procession was called Theoria, and it was looked upon as an honourable commisson to have the management of it.

† A statue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedestal has been discovered by some modern travellers.

‡ Thucyd. l. vii.

about his own; particularly as to the success of his silver mines in the borough of Laurium, which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of slaves; and the greatest part of his fortune consisted in silver; so that he had many retainers, who asked favours, and were not sent away empty; for he gave not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found resources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witness to what I have advanced. Teleclides introduces a trading informer speaking thus: "Charicles would not give one *mina* to prevent my declaring that he was the first fruits of his mother's amours; but Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave me four; why he did it, I shall not say, though I know it perfectly well; for Nicias is my friend, a very wise man besides, in my opinion." Eupolis, in his *Marcia*, brings another informer upon the stage, who meets with some poor ignorant man, and thus addresses him:

"*Informer.* How long is it since you saw Nicias?

"*Poor man.* I never saw him before this moment, when he stood in the market-place.

"*Informer.* Take notice, my friends, the man confesses he has seen Nicias. And for what purpose could he see him, but to sell him his vote? Nicias, therefore, is plainly taken in the fact.

"*Poet.* Ah, fools! do you think you can ever persuade the world, that so good a man as Nicias was taken in malpractices?"

Cleon in Aristophanes, says in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias tremble."* And Phrynichus glances at his excessive timidity, when, speaking of another person, he says, "I know him to be an honest man and a good citizen, one who does not walk the streets with a downcast look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not sup or discourse with any of the citizens, or come into any of those parties which make the time pass so agree-

* This is in the Equites of Aristophanes, ver. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus who speaks.

ably. When he was archon he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access; and if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse Nicias, because he had some affairs under consideration which were of great importance to the state.

The person who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon business, was one Hiero, who was brought up in his house, had a liberal education, and a taste of music given him there. He passed himself for the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, some of whose poems are still extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the diviners; and whenever he came among the people, he used to tell them, "What a laborious and miserable life Nicias led for their sakes. He cannot go to the bath," said he, "or the table, but some affair of state solicits his attention; and he neglects his own concerns, to take care of the public. He can scarce find time for repose, till the other citizens have had their first sleep. Amidst these cares and labours his health declines daily, and his temper is so broken that his friends no longer approach him with pleasure; but he loses them too, after having spent his fortune in your service. Meanwhile other statesmen gain friends, and grow rich in their employments, and are sleek and merry in the steerage of government."

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself that expression of Agamemnon:

> In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me master,
> I'm servant of the people.....

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themselves of the services of those who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity; but that they were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and that they endeavoured to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of

Pericles, the banishment of Damon, the suspicions they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnusian, but above all, in the despair of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who being called to give an account of his conduct, drew his sword and killed himself in open court.

Warned by these examples, he endeavoured to avoid such expeditions as he thought long and difficult; and when he did take the command, he made it his business to proceed upon a sure plan. For this reason he was generally successful; yet he ascribed his success to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of the divinity; contenting himself with a smaller portion of honour, lest envy should rob him of the whole.

The event showed the prudence of his conduct. For, though the Athenians received many great blows in those times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, Calliades* and Xenophon had the command; Demosthenes was general when they miscarried in Ætolia; and when they lost a thousand men at Delium,† they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to be occasioned by Pericles; who, to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, shut them up in the city, where they contracted the sickness by the change of situation and diet.

None of these misfortunes were imputed to Nicias: On the contrary, he took Cythera, an island well situated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians. He recovered many places in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians. He shut up the Megarensians within their walls, and reduced the island of Minoa. From thence he made an excursion soon after, and got possession of the port of Nisæa. He likewise made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that state in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers of them: Lycophron, their general, was among the slain.

* Perhaps we should read Callias. See Menag. on Diog. Laert. ii. 45.

† Delium in Bœotia. Delos, the common reading, is undoubtedly wrong. The Athenians had no such loss there. But their defeat at Delium is related at large by Thucydides, l. iv.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were missed in carrying off the dead. But as soon as he knew it, he stopped his course, and sent a herald to the enemy, to ask leave to take away those bodies. This he did, though there was a law and custom subsisting, by which those who desire a treaty for carrying off the dead, give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed, those who are so far masters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permission, appear to be conquerors, because no man would ask that as a favour which he could command. Nicias, however, chose rather to lose his laurels, than to leave two of his countrymen unburied.*

After he had ravaged the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians, who attempted to oppose him, he took the fortress of Thyræa,† then held by the Æginetæ, made the garrison prisoners, and carried them to Athens. Demosthenes having fortified Pylos,‡ the Peloponnesians besieged it both by sea and land. A battle ensued, in which they were worsted, and about four hundred Spartans threw themselves into the isle of Sphacteria. The taking of them seemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the siege was difficult, because there was no water to be had upon the spot, and it was troublesome and expensive to get convoys thither; in summer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was absolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refusing the terms of peace which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their ambassadors.

* The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghost of an unburied person not being allowed to pass the Styx, is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death, for not interring those soldiers that were slain in the battle of Arginusæ.

† Thyræa was a fort situated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmoinans, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled their country.

‡ The Peloponnesians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the son of Archidamas, and ravaged the country. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, made a diversion by seizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country. *Thucyd.* l. iv.

It was through Cleon that the embassy did not take effect; he opposed the peace because Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy; and seeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people to reject their propositions by a formal decree. But when they found that the siege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almost a famine in their camp, they expressed their resentment against Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias; alleging, that if the enemy escaped, it must be through his slow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," said he, "they could not have held out so long." The Athenians readily answered, "Why do not you go now against those Spartans?" And Nicias rose up and declared, "He would freely give up to him the command in the affair of Pylos; bade him take what forces he pleased; and, instead of showing his courage in words, where there was no danger, go and perform some actions worthy the attention of his country."

Cleon, disconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at first. But when he found the Athenians insisted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raise a clamour against him, his pride was hurt, and he was incensed to such a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but declared, "He would in twenty days either put the enemy to the sword, or bring them alive to Athens."

The people laughed at his declaration,* instead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accustomed to divert themselves with the sallies of his vanity. One day, for instance, when a general assembly was to be held, they had sat waiting for him a long time. At last he came, when their patience was almost spent, with a garland on his head, and desired them to adjourn until the day following: "For, to-day," says he, "I am not at leisure; I have strangers to entertain, and I have sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately rose up and dismissed the assembly.

Cleon, however, was so much favoured by fortune in this commission, that he acquitted himself better than any

* The wiser sort hoped either to have the pleasure of seeing the Lacedæmonians brought prisoners to Athens, or else of getting rid of the importunate pretensions of Cleon.

one since Demosthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle, deliver up their arms; and brought them prisoners to Athens.

This reflected no small disgrace upon Nicias. It was considered as something worse than throwing away his shield, meanly to quit his command, and to give his enemy an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his abdication. Hence, Aristophanes ridicules him in his comedy called *The Birds*. "By heaven, this is no time for us to slumber, or to imitate the lazy operations of Nicias." And in his piece entitled *The Husbandman*, he introduces two Athenians discoursing thus....

"1*st Athenian*. I had rather stay at home and till the ground.

"2*d Athenian*. And who hinders thee?

"1*st Athenian*. You hinder me. And yet I am willing to pay a thousand drachmas to be excused taking the commission.

"2*d Athenian*. Let us see. Your thousand drachmas, with those of Nicias, will make two thousand. We will excuse you."

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjust to himself, but to the state. He suffered Cleon by this means to gain such an ascendant, as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery, that was unsupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himself had his full share. We cannot but consider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now banished all decorum from the general assembly. It was he who in his speeches first broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *rostrum* to the other. This soon introduced such a licentiousness and disregard to decency among those who directed the affairs of state, that it threw the whole government into confusion.

At this time there sprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove so totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is said of the land of Egypt, that, on account of its extreme fertility,

> There plenty sows the fields with herbs salubrious,
> But scatters many a baneful weed between.....

so in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes; and these extremes opened a door to many innovations; so that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to establish any lasting tranquillity in Athens: but as soon as he had got things into a safe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the storms of war.

It happened thus: The persons who most opposed the peace of Greece, were Cleon and Brasidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to show the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injustice and oppression, and Brasidas for great and glorious actions. But after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for some time desirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer so warm in the pursuits of war. In fact, both parties were tired of hostilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore used his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had suffered, to bring them to taste the sweets of repose, and to re-establish a long and lasting reign of happiness. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, disposed to peace: and by addressing himself to the rest, and expostulating with them respectively, he soon abated their ardour for war.

His next step was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propose such measures as might effect it. They readily confided in him because they knew the goodness of his heart; of which there was a late instance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken prisoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a suspension of arms for one year; during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleasures of ease and security, the company of strangers as well as nearer friends, and expressed their mutual wishes for the continuance of a life undisturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in such strains as this:

> Arachne freely now has leave
> Her webs around my Spear to weave.

They recollected with pleasure the saying, "That in time of peace men are awaked not by the sound of the trumpet but the crowing of the cock." They execrated those who said, it was decreed by fate that the war should last three times nine years;* and this free intercourse leading them to canvass every point, they at last signed the peace.†

It was now the general opinion, that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He, they said, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompence of his piety, had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable of all blessings should bear his name. It is certain, they ascribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And indeed, the one did plunge them upon slight pretences into numberless calamities, and the other persuaded them to bury the greatest of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is therefore, called the *Nicean*‡ peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles, that both parties should restore the towns and the prisoners they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot, which of them should do it first: but, according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased at these proceedings, and endeavoured by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, to confirm the peace, and to support each other, by a league offensive and defensive. This he expected would intimidate those who were inclined to fly off.

* "I remember," says Thucydides, "that throughout the whole war many maintained it was to last three times nine years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the truce very short and ill observed that followed it, the treaties ill executed, and the war that was renewed thereupon, we shall find the oracle fully justified by the event." *Thucyd.* l. v.

† Peace for fifty years was agreed upon and signed the year following; but it was soon broken again.

‡ The word in the original is Νικειον, which is equivalent to Τροπαιον, *trophy*, As much as to say, it was the trophy, or the masterpiece of Nicias.

During these transactions, Alcibiades at first made it his business privately to oppose the peace; for he was naturally disinclined to inaction, and was moreover offended at the Lacedæmonians, on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and disregard of him. But when he found this private opposition ineffectual, he took another method. In a little time he saw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians with so obliging an eye as before, because they thought themselves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Bœotians, and because they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon these points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's resentment. Besides, he persuaded, and at last prevailed upon the republic of Argos, to send an embassy, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they sent ambassadors to Athens with full powers to settle all matters in dispute. These plenipotentiaries were introduced to the senate, and their proposals seemed perfectly just and reasonable. Alcibiades, upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the same overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and asseverations, "promising he would secure the success of their commission, if they would not declare that they came with full powers; and assuring them that no other method would be so effectual." They gave credit to his insinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the first question he asked them was, "Whether they came with full powers?" They denied it, as they were instructed. Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectations changing sides, called the senate to bear witness to their former declarations, and desired the people, "Not to give the least credit or attention to such manifest prevaricators, who upon the same point asserted one thing one day, and another thing the next." Their confusion was inexpressible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. The people of course sent immediately for the deputies of Argos, to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment there

happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which, favourably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

Next day they assembled again; and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos; but, instead of that, to send him to Sparta,* where he assured them all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with great respect, as a man of honour, and one who had shown that republic great friendship: however, as the party that favoured the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing.† He returned, therefore, not only with disrepute and disgrace, but was apprehensive of worse consequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked that, at his persuasion, they had set free so many prisoners, and prisoners of such distinction; for those brought from Pylos, were of the first families in Sparta, and had connections with the greatest personages there. Notwithstanding this, they did not express their resentment in any act of severity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedæmonian interest, into the league with them, along with the Argives. They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excursions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians detested the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time they dreaded his enterprising spirit, as we have related more at large in his life. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living, on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides,

* There were others joined in commission with him.

† Nicias insisted that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not acceded to the peace.

he had combated their opinions, and by making them pursue their own interest against their inclination, was of course become obnoxious. In one word, the whole was a dispute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace. The former endeavoured to make the ostracism fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades:

> But in seditions bad men rise to honour.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the subtlest and most profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois; a man whose boldness was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whose influence was owing to his boldness; and who disgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehensions of banishment, by the honourable suffrage of the ostracism, because he knew himself fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of these great men were banished, he should be able to make head against the other, he dissembled not his joy at this spirit of party but strove to exasperate the people against both. Nicias and Alcibiades taking notice of his malice, came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their interests; and by that means avoided the ostracism themselves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At first the people were pleased, and laughed at the strange turn things had taken; but upon recollection, it gave them great uneasiness to think that the ostracism was dishonoured by its falling upon a person unworthy of it. They were persuaded there was a dignity in that punishment; or rather, that to such men as Thucydides and Aristides it was a punishment; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which he might be proud of, since his profligacy had put him on the same list with the greatest patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus speaks of him: "No doubt, his crimes deserved chastisement but a very different chastisement from that which he received. The shell was not designed for such wretches as he."

In fact, no one afterwards was banished by it. He was the last, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the first. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of Fortune, how incomprehensible

to human reason. Had Nicias run the risk of the ostracism, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full security; or if it had been carried against him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending stroke of misery, and preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced general. I am not ignorant, that Theophrastus says, Hyperbolus was banished in the contest between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias: But most historians give it as above related.

About this time the Ægesteans and Leontines sent an embassy, to desire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias opposed it, but was over-ruled by the address and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previously gained the assembly by his discourses, and corrupted the people to such a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other places where they conversed drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its seas, with all its ports and bearings on the side next Africa: For they did not consider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; from whence they were to go upon the conquest of Carthage; nay, of all Africa, and to make themselves masters of the seas within the Pillars of Hercules.

While they were so intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his side, either among the commons or nobility to oppose it: for the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to serve in person, or to be at the expense of fitting out men of war, sat silent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however, opposed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was passed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, and his name first in the suffrages. In the first assembly that was held after that, he rose to dissuade them, and to protest against their proceedings. In conclusion, he attacked Alcibiades, for plunging the state in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprise; and that nothing could contribute more to its success, than to unite his caution with the firey spirit of Alcibiades, and

the boldness of Lamachus.* Therefore, they were still more confirmed in their choice. Besides, Demostratus, who of all the orators took most pains to encourage the people to that war, rose and said, he would soon cut off all the excuses of Nicias; and immediately he proposed and carried an order, that the generals should have a discretionary power to lay plans and put them in execution, both at home and abroad.

It is said, indeed, that the priests strongly opposed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to set against them; and he gave it out that certain ancient oracles promised the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys, too, who were sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an answer, importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad presages, they took care to conceal them, lest they should seem to pronounce any thing inauspicious of an enterprise which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the most clear and obvious signs. Such was the mutilation of the *Hermæ*,† whose heads were all struck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which had been consecrated by the tribe of Egeis, before the door of the person just named. Such also was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got astride upon it, and there emasculated himself with a stone. The temple of Delphi there was a golden statue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm-tree of

* In the original it is *την Λαμαχϑ πϱαοτητα, the mildness of Lamachus.* But it is plain that some quality of Lamachus should be here mentioned, which wanted to be qualified with the caution of Nicias; and mildness could not be that quality. A passage in the life of Alcibiades will help us to rectify the error in the text. Plutarch there speaking of Lamachus, says, Λαμαχος ηλικια πϱοικων, ὁμως; ϵὐακϵι μηδϵν ηττον ϵιναι τϵ Αλκιβιαδϵ διαπυϱος και φιλοκινδυνος ϵν ϵνιοις αγασι.

"Though Lamachus was the older man than Alcibiades, yet on some occasions he had as much fire as he, and a courage bordering on temerity." The word, therefore, instead of *πϱαοτητα*, should probably be *θϱασυτητα*.

† These *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, were square figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples and the doors of their houses.

brass, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. The crows came and beaked it for several days, and pecked off the golden fruit of the tree.

The Athenians, however, said these were only fictions propagated at Delphi, at the instigation of the Syracusans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ; and when she came, they found her name was *Hesychia*, by which the deity seemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton, the astrologer, whether he was struck with these signs, or whether by the eye of human reason, he discovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army), feigned himself mad, and set fire to his house. Others say, he used no pretence of madness, but having burnt down his house in the night, addressed himself next morning to the assembly, in a forlorn condition, and desired the citizens, in compassion for his misfortune, to excuse his son, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates,* on this occasion, warned that wise man, by the usual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to several of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewise greatly discouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be sent out. The women were then celebrating the feasts of Adonis, during which there were to be seen in every quarter of the city, images of the dead and funeral processions; the women accompanying them with dismal lamentations. So that those who took any account of omens, were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think that an armament, fitted at so vast an expence, and which made so glorious an appearance, would soon lose its consequence.

As for Nicias, he showed himself a wise and worthy man, in opposing the expedition while it was under consideration; and in not suffering himself, after is was resolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his post, so as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheless, when he could neither divert the people from their purpose, nor by all his efforts get himself excused from taking the command, but was placed, and as it were,

* In Theog.

by violence at the head of a great army; it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He should not then have looked back from his ship like a child; nor, by a multitude of protestations that his better counsels were over-ruled, have disheartened his colleagues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance for success. He should have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, and made Fortune blush at the calamities she was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus proposed to make a descent close by Syracuse,* and to give battle under the walls; and Alcibiades was of opinion they should first reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuse, and then march against the principal enemy; Nicias opposed both. He gave it for coasting along Sicily without any act of hostility, and showing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having left a small reinforcement with the Ægesteans, as a taste of the Athenian strength. Thus he intercepted all their schemes, and broke down their spirits.

The Athenians, soon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial; and Nicias remained, joined indeed with another in commission, but first in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of sailing along the coast, or else sat still deliberating; until the spirit of confidence which buoyed up his own troops, was evaporated and gone, as well as the consternation with which the enemy were seized at the first sight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had sailed towards Syracuse with sixty galleys, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour; the other ten they sent in to reconnoitre the place. These advanced to the foot of the walls, and, by proclamation, invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations.† At the same time they happened to take one of the enemy's ves-

* Vid. *Thucyd.* l vi.

† They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to restore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In consequence of which, such of the Leontines as were in Syracuse, had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

sels, with the registers on board, in which all the Syracusans were set down according to their tribes. They used to be kept at some distance from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were then sent for to be examined, in order to the forming a list of persons able to bear arms. When these registers were brought to the Athenian generals, and such a prodigious number of names was displayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident; thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians should take all the Syracusans, might possibly in this have its entire accomplishment. It is asserted, however, that it had its accomplishment on another occasion, when Calippus, the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himself master of Syracuse.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a small retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honour, and he freely exposed his person in time of action; but his circumstances were so mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged a small sum for clothes and sandals. Nicias, on the contrary, beside his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence both as to wealth and name. We are told, that on another occasion, when the Athenian generals met on a council of war, Nicias desired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion first, because he was the oldest man. "It is true," said Sophocles, "I am older in respect of years; but you are older in respect of service." In the same manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general; and his proceedings were for ever timid and dilatory. At first he made the circuit of the island with his ships at a great distance from the enemy; which served only to raise their spirits. His first operation was to lay siege to the little town of Hybla; and not succeeding in that affair, he exposed himself to the utmost contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a small place subject to the barbarians. Lais, the courtezan, who was then a girl, is said to have been sold among the prisoners, and carried from thence to Peloponnesus.

Towards the end of the summer, he was informed the Syracusans were come to that degree of confidence, that

they designed to attack him. Nay, some of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and asked his troops in great derision, "Whether they were not rather come to settle in Catana themselves, than to settle the Leontines in their old habitations?"

Nicias now, at last, with much difficulty, determined to sail for Syracuse. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any risk, he sent a person of Catana before him, who, under pretence of being a deserter, should tell the Syracusans, that if they wanted to surprise the enemy's camp in a defenceless state, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians, he said, passed the greatest part of their time within the walls; and such of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracusans, had determined, upon their approach, to shut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the same time, he assured them their partizans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival.*

This was the best act of generalship Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn, by this means, the enemy's forces out of Syracuse, so that it was left almost without defence, he sailed thither from Catana, made himself master of their ports, and encamped in a situation, where the enemy could least annoy him by that in which their chief strength consisted, and where he could easily exert the strength in which he was superior.

The Syracusans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, lose any great number of men, because their cavalry stopt the Athenians in the pursuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracusans, by observing, "That it was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to prevent fighting; as if fighting was not the business he came about." Their consternation, indeed, was so great, that, instead of the fifteen generals they had, they chose three

* Nicias knew he could not make a descent from his ships near Syracuse, because the inhabitants were prepared for him; nor could he go by land, for want of cavalry.

others, and the people promised upon oath, to indulge them with a power of acting at discretion.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were desirous to take it, because of the quantity of its rich offerings in gold and silver. But Nicias industriously put off the attack, and suffered a Syracusan garrison to enter it; persuaded that the plunder his troops might get there would be of no service to the public, and that he should bear all the blame of the sacrilege.

The news of the victory soon spread over the whole island, but Nicias made not the least improvement of it. He soon retired to Naxos,* and wintered there; keeping an army on foot at a great expence, and effecting but little; for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracusans recovered their spirits again so as to make another excursion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burnt the Athenian camp. Meanwhile all the world censured Nicias, and said, that by his long deliberations, delays, and extreme caution, he lost the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it: for he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he was timid and dilatory in forming a resolution.

When he had once determined to return with his forces to Syracuse, he conducted all his movements with so much prudence, expedition, and safety, that he had gained the peninsula of Thapsos, disembarked his men, and got possession of Epipolæ before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat, on this occasion, some infantry that were sent to succour the fort, and made three hundred prisoners; he likewise routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what most astonished the Sicilians, and appeared incredible to the Greeks, was, that in a short space of time he inclosed Syracuse with a wall, a city not less than Athens, and much more difficult to be surrounded by such a work, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the vicinity of the sea, and the adjoining marshes. Add to this, that it was almost effected by a man whose health was by no means equal to such an undertaking, for he was

* A city between Syracuse and Catana.

afflicted with the stone; and if it was not entirely finished we must impute it to that circumstance.

I cannot, indeed, but admire the attention of the general, and the invincible courage of the soldiers, in effecting what they did, in this as well as other instances. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them:

> Eight trophies those from Syracuse obtain'd
> Ere yet the gods were partial.

And in fact we find that the Athenians gained not only eight, but several more victories of the Syracusans, till the gods or fortune declared against them, at a time when they were arrived at the highest pitch of power. Nicias forced himself, beyond what his health would allow, to attend most of the actions in person: but when his distemper was very violent, he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few servants to wait upon him.

Meantime Lamachus, who was now commander in chief, came to an engagement with the Syracusans, who were drawing a cross wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The Athenians, generally having the advantage, went in too disorderly a manner upon the pursuit; and it happened one day that Lamachus was left almost alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his strength and courage, advanced before them, and gave Lamachus the challenge; which he did not decline. Lamachus received the first wound, which proved mortal, but he returned it upon his adversary, and they fell both together. The Syracusans remaining masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off; and without losing a moment, marched to the Athenian camp, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Roused, however, by necessity and the sight of his danger, he ordered those about him to set fire to the materials before the intrenchments which were provided for the machines, and to the machines themselves. This put a stop to the Syracusans, and saved Nicias, together with the Athenian camp and baggage. For as soon as they beheld the flames rising in vast columns between the camp and them, they retired.

Nicias now remained sole commander, but he had reason to form the most sanguine hopes of success. The cities declared for him, and ships laden with provisions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in so good a train that the Sicilians strove which should first express their attachment. The Syracusans themselves, despairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their succour, being informed of the wall with which they were inclosed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his voyage, not with a view to Sicily, which he gave up for lost, but, if possible, to save the Greek cities in Italy. For the renoun of the Athenians was now very extensive; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whose prudence, as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was suddenly elated by his present strength and success; the more so because he was persuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuse, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming ashore; so that, screened by this utter negligence, Gylippus, landed with safety. It was at a great distance from Syracuse, and he found means to collect a considerable army. But the Syracusans were so far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had assembled that very day to consider of articles of capitulation; nay, some were for coming to terms that moment, before the city was absolutely inclosed: For there was but a small part of the wall unfinished, and all the necessary materials were upon the spot.

At this critical and dangerous instant Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them, Gylippus would soon come, with several other ships, to their succour. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus; but while they were weighing the matter, a messenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they should march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their spirits, and armed. Gylippus soon arrived, and put his troops in order of battle.

As Nicias was drawing up against him, Gylippus rested his arms, and sent a herald with an offer of safe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any answer. But some of the soldiers asked him by way of ridicule, "Whether the Syracusans were become so strong by the arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloak and staff, as to despise the Athenians who had lately knocked off the fetters of three hundred Spartans and released them, though all abler men, and better-haired than Gylippus?"

Timæus says, the Sicilians set no great value upon Gylippus: For in a little time they discovered his sordid avarice and meanness; and, at his first appearance, they laughed at his cloke and head of hair. Yet the same historian relates, that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, the Sicilians gathered about him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleased. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the staff and cloak they beheld the symbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides also tells us, that Gylippus was the only man who saved Sicily; and Philistus, a citizen of Syracuse, and an eye-witness of those transactions, does the same.

In the first engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed some of the Syracusans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at the same time. But the next day, Gylippus showed them of what consequence experience in a general is; with the very same arms and horses, and on the same spot, by only altering his order of battle,* he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the stones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the cross-wall of the Syracusans, and cut through theirs in such a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this success, the Syracusans manned several vessels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many prisoners. Gylippus

* He had the address to impute the late defeat to himself, and to assure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He said, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

applied to the towns in person, and they readily listened to him, and lent him all the assistance in their power. So that Nicias, relapsing into his former fears and despondence, at the sight of such a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to send another army, or to recal that which he had; and at the same time he desired them by all means to dismiss him from the command on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had designed some time before to send another army into Sicily; but the envy which the first succes of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon several pretences. Now, however, they hastened the succours. They likewise came to a resolution, that Demosthenes should go in the spring with a respectable fleet; and that Eurymedon,* without waiting till winter was over, should carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then served under him, to assist him in his charge.

Meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked both by sea and land. At first, part of his fleet was worsted; but in the end he proved victorious, and sunk many of the enemy's ships. He could not however, succour his troops by land, as the exigence of the case required. Gylippus made a sudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it; by which means he became master of the naval stores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treasure which had been lodged there. Most of the garrison were either killed or taken prisoners. But what was still a greater blow to Nicias, by the loss of this place he lost the convenience of his convoys: For, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was safe and easy; but when that was taken his supplies could not reach him without the utmost difficulty, because his transports could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships which lay at anchor under the fort.

Besides, the Syracusans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any superior strength they had to combat, but by their going in a disorderly manner upon the pursuit. They therefore fitted out a more respectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, however, did not choose at pre-

* Eurymedon went with ten galleys.

sent to try the issue of another naval fight, but declared it very absurd, when a large reinforcement of ships and fresh troops were hastening to him under the conduct of Demosthenes, to hazard a battle with a force so much inferior and so ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary share in the command, were led by their ambition and jealousy of Demosthenes and Nicias, to strike some extraordinary stroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the most shining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they said would be utterly lost, if they showed any fear of the Syracusan fleet. Thus they over-ruled Nicias and gave battle. But they were soon defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who was a most excellent seamen.* Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they lost great numbers of their men. This loss threw Nicias into the greatest consternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the sole command, and that he had now miscarried again through the obstinacy of his colleagues.

While he was indulging these reflections, Demosthenes appeared before the port with a very gallant and formidable fleet: He had seventy-three galleys,† on board of which were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers; and archers, spearmen, and slingers to the number of three thousand. Their armour glittered, the streamers waved, and the prows of the ships were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial music, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to strike terror into the enemy.

The Syracusans were ready to fall into despair again. They saw no end or truce to their miseries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpose. Nicias, however,

* Ariston advised the captains of the galleys to have refreshments ready for their men on the shore; whilst the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewise. In the mean time the Syracusans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ships when there was scarce any body to defend them.

† Diodorus Siculus makes them three hundred and ten.

had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syrscuse by an immediate and decisive stroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him, delay would make against the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon quit both them and their cause. Consequently, when they began to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would apply to him again, and surrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private understanding with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and when their necessities should become a little more pressing, they would give up the dispute.

As Nicias mentioned these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," said they, "with his old delays, dilatory, slow, over-cautious counsels, by which the vigour and ardour of his troops was lost. When he should have led them on immediately, he waited till their spirit was gone, and the enemy began to look upon them with contempt." The other officers, therefore, listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias at last was forced to give up the point.

Upon this Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land-forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he killed many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the Bœotians were posted. These closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled; and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands, were put in disorder by the fugitives; for they fell foul of one another, and

took their friends for enemies. The confusion, indeed, was inexpressible, occasioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impossibility of discerning objects as they could have wished, in a night which was neither quite dark nor sufficiently clear; the moon being near her setting, and the little light she gave rendered useless by her shade of so many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehensions of meeting with an enemy, made the Athenians suspect their friends, and threw them into the utmost perplexity and distress. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which casting their shadows before them, both hid the number of their men and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflection from the shields of the enemy, made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At last they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy pressed hard upon them on all sides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The rest were dispersed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry and put to the sword. The Athenians lost two thousand men in this action; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a severe blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed against the rash proceedings, of Demosthenes. That general defended himself as well as he could, but at the same time gave it as his opinion, that they should embark and return home as fast as possible. "We cannot hope," said he, "either for another army, or to conquer with the forces we have. Nay, supposing we had the advantage, we ought to relinquish a situation, which is well known at all times to be unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find still more fatal from the season of the year." It was, indeed the beginning of autumn; numbers were sick, and the whole army was dispirited.

Nevertheless, Nicias could not bear to hear of returning home; not that he was afraid of any opposition from the Syracusans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, "That there was no great and visible danger at present; and,

if there were, he had rather die by the hands of the enemy, than those of his fellow-citizens." In this respect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards said to his countrymen, "I had rather die for you, than with you." Nicias added, "That if it should appear necessary to encamp in another place, they might consider of it at their leisure."

Demosthenes urged the matter no farther, because his former councils had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to submit, because he saw others persuaded that it was the dependence Nicias had on his correspondence in the town, which made him so strongly oppose their return to Athens. But as fresh forces came to the assistance of the Syracusans, and the sickness prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himself altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Every thing accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to these movements, because they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipse of the moon, at which Nicias and all the rest were struck with a great panic, either through ignorance or superstition. As for an eclipse of the sun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had some idea of its being caused by the interposition of the moon: But they could not easily form a conception by the interposition of what body, the moon, when at the full, should suddenly lose her light, and assume such a variety of colours. They looked upon it therefore as a strange and preternatural phenomenon, a sign by which the gods announced some great calamity.

Anaxagoras was the first who with any clearness and certainty showed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity,* nor was his treatise much known; it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the seal of secrecy: For the people had an aversion to natural philosophers, and those who were then

* He was cotemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too: for he died the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, and Nicias was killed the fourth year of the ninety-first.

called *Meteoroleschæ* [*inquirers into the nature of meteors*,] supposing that they injured the Divine Power and Providence by ascribing things to insensate causes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable necessity. Protagorus was forced to fly on account of such a system; and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates,* who meddled not with physics, lost his life for philosophy. At last the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his subjecting the necessity of natural causes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all suspicion of impiety from such researches, and brought the study of mathematics into fashion. Hence it was, that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipsed at the time of his going from Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not in the least disconcerted, but pursued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappiness to Nicias, that he had not then with him an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on such occasions, and who used to lessen the influence of his superstition, died a little before. Supposing the eclipse a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus observes, be inauspicious to those who wanted to fly, but on the contrary very favourable; for whatever is transacted with fear, seeks the shades of darkness; light is the worst enemy. Besides, on other occasions, as Autiolides† remarks in his commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from business after an eclipse of either sun or moon; whereas Nicias wanted to stay another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not see her as bright as ever the moment she passed the shadow caused by the interposition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almost every other care, and sat still observing his sacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and invested his walls and intrenchments with their

* Socrates tells us, in his Apology, that he had been accused of a criminal curiosity in prying into the heavens and into the abysses of the earth. However, he could not be said to lose his life for his philosophy so much as for his theology.

† This should probably be read Anticlides; for he seems to be the same person whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris.

land-forces, as well as circled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from their ships, but the very boys from fishing boats and small barks, challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of insult. One of these boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the best families in Syracuse, advancing too far, was pursued by an Athenian vessel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus seeing his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command; and others, in fear for Pollichus, advanced to support him. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians not brooking any farther delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracusans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. Nicias, however, would not agree to it; thinking it a cruel thing to abandon so many ships of burden and near two hundred galleys. He therefore embarked his best infantry, and a select number of archers and spearmen, and manned with them a hundred and ten galleys, as far as his rowers would supply him. The rest of his troops he drew up on the shore; abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracusans had not for a long time offered the usual sacrifices to that deity, but now both the priests and generals went to observe the solemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inspectors of the entrails promised the Syracusans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force: For Hercules, they said, was victorious only in standing upon the defensive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus instructed, the Syracusans set out.

Then the great sea-fight began; remarkable not only for the vigour that was exerted, but for its causing as great a variety of passion and agitation in the spectators as in the combatants themselves; for those who looked on from the shore, could discern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians suffered not more harm from the enemy, than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ships were all crowded together, and were heavy and unwieldy

besides, while those of the enemy were so light and nimble, that they could easily change their situation, and attack the Athenians on all sides. Add to this, that the Syracusans were provided with a vast quantity of stones, which seldom failed of their effect, wherever discharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppose to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was so diverted by the motion of the ship, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedition by Ariston the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell the moment that victory was declaring for the Syracusans.

After this dreadful defeat and loss, there was no possibility of escaping by sea. At the same time the Athenians saw it was extremely difficult to save themselves by land. In this despair, they neither opposed the enemy, who were seizing their vessels close to the shore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not so deplorable a circumstance to leave the dead without burial, as to abandon the sick and wounded. And though they had great miseries before their eyes, they looked upon their own case as still more unhappy, since they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the same fate at last.

They did, however, design to begin their march in the night. Gylippus saw the Syracusans employed in sacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory, and the feast of Hercules; and he knew that neither entreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of festivity, and oppose the enemy's flight. But *Hermocrates found out a method to impose upon Nicias. He sent persons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend they came from the old correspondents of that general within the town; and that their business was to desire him not to march in the night, because the Syracusans had laid several ambushes for him, and seized all the passes. The stratagem had its effect. Nicias sat still, in the simplicity of his heart, fearing he should really fall into the enemy's snares.

* Hermocrates was sensible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of forty thousand men which he had still left, he might have fortified himself in some part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then, indeed, they did seize all the difficult passes: they threw up works against the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even; so that the Athenians could not move one step without fighting.

These poor men lay close all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations; as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of provisions; and it was a miserable circumstance to leave their sick and wounded friends and comrades behind them; yet they looked upon their present misfortunes as small in comparison of those they had to expect.

But, among the various spectacles of misery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himself; oppressed as he was with sickness, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a scanty provision, when his infirmities required a liberal supply. Yet, in spite of his ill health, he acted and endured many things which the more robust underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but observe, it was not for his own sake, or any attachment to life, that he submitted to such labours, but that he seemed still to cherish hope on their account. When sorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropt a tear among the rest, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miserable and disgraceful issue of the war, which he hoped to have finished with great honour and success. Nor was it only the sight of his present misery that moved them, but when they recollected the speeches and warnings by which he endeavoured to dissuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deserved. All their hopes, too, of assistance from heaven abandoned them, when they observed that so religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expence too great in the service of the gods, had no better fortune than the meanest and most profligate person in the army.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he still endeavoured, by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expression of kindness to the soldiers, to show himself superior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of

eight days, though attacked and harrassed all the way by the enemy, he preserved his own division of the army tolerably entire; till Demosthenes was taken prisoner, and the troops he had the conduct of, were surrounded, after a brave resistance, at a small place called Polyzelium. Demosthenes then drew his sword and stabbed himself, but as the enemy came immediately upon him and seized him, he had not time to give himself the finishing stroke.

Some Syracusans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he sent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding, from their account, that Demosthenes and his party were really prisoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hostages for paying the Syracusans the whole charge of the war, on condition they would suffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracusans rejected the proposal with every mark of insolence and outrage, and fell again upon a wretched man, who was in want of all manner of necessaries.*

He defended himself, however, all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Asinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and, when they came to the bank of the river, pushed them in. Nay, some impatient to quench their burning thirst, voluntarily plunged into the stream. Then followed a most cruel scene of blood and slaughter; the poor wretches being massacred as they were drinking. At last, Nicias threw himself at the feet of Gylippus, and said, "Gylippus, you should show some compassion amidst your victory. I ask nothing for myself. What is life, to a man whose misfortunes are even proverbial? But with respect to the other Athenians, methinks you should remember that the chance of war is uncertain, and with what humanity and moderation they treated you, when they were victorious."

Gylippus was somewhat affected both at the sight of Nicias, and at his speech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedæmonians at the last treaty of peace; and he was sensible it would contribute greatly to his honour, if he could take two of the enemy's generals

* But were these brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to use every means in their power to harrass and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiously considered their country as property?

prisoners. Therefore, raising Nicias from the ground he bade him take courage: and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those that were saved was greatly inferior to that of the slain: though the soldiers spared several, unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had taken from the enemy. After which they marched homeward with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner; having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city, as it were in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute that ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories the sun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valour.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of its allies was then held, in which Eurycles* the orator proposed a decree, "That, in the first place, the day they took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the title of *Asinaria*, from the river where that great event took place, and that it should be entirely employed in sacrifices to the gods." This was the twenty-seventh day of the month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion*.† "As to the prisoners, he proposed, that the Athenian servants and all the allies should be sold for slaves; that such of the Athenians as were freemen, and the Sicilians their partizans, should be confined to the quarries; and that the generals should be put to death." As the Syracusans accepted the bill, Hermocrates rose up and said, "It was a more glorious thing to make a good use of a victory, than to gain one." But his motion raised a great ferment in the assembly. Gylippus expressing his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune

* Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

† Though it is not easy, as we have observed in a former note, to bring the Grecian months to tally with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it; because Plutarch had said above, that the sickness had set in with autumn

loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his severity and Lacedæmonian rigour in command while the war lasted. Besides as Timæus observes, they had discovered in him an avarice and meanness, which was a disease he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who was banished for taking of bribes. The son, out of the thousand talents which Lysander sent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his house. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmots disgrace; as we have related more at large in the life of Lysander.

Timæus does not agree with Philistus and Thucydides, that Demosthenes and Nicias were stoned to death by the Syracusans. Instead of that, he tells us, that Hermocrates sent one of his people, to acquaint those two generals with what was passing in the assembly, and the messenger being admitted by the guards before the court was dismissed, the unhappy men dispatched themselves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there exposed to the view of all those who wanted to enjoy the spectacle. I am informed that a shield, said to be that of Nicias, is shown to this day in one of the temples at Syracuse; the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with surprising art.

As to the other Athenians, the greatest part perished in the quarries to which they were confined, by diseases and bad diet; for they were allowed only a pint of barley a-day, and half a pint of water. Many of those who were concealed by the soldiers, or escaped by passing as servants, were sold for slaves, and stigmatized with the figure of a horse upon their foreheads. Several of these, however, submitted to their fate with patience; and the modesty and decency with which they behaved were such that they were either soon released, or treated in their servitude with great respect by their masters.

Some there were who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island, they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said that on this occasion a number of Athenians, upon their reture home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the most respectful man-

ner for their obligations to his pen; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshments, when they were wandering about after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us, that when a ship from Caunus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her; upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the first news of this misfortune; the person who brought it not appearing to deserve their notice. It seems, a stranger who landed in the Piræus, as he sat to be shaved in a barber's shop, spoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no sooner heard it, but before the stranger could communicate it to any other person, he ran into the city; and applying to the magistrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and dismay seized all that heard it. The magistrates immediately summoned an assembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated of whom he had the intelligence; and, as he could give no clear and pertinent answer, he was considered as a forger of false news and a public incendiary.* In this light he was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for some time, till at length some credible persons arrived; who gave a distinct account of the whole disaster. With so much difficulty did the misfortues of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

* Casaubon would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for punishing the forgers of false news. But this person was punished, not so much as a forger of false news, as a public incendiary, who by exciting groundless terrors in the people, aided and abetted their enemies.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers. These married while their parents were living, and they all eat at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an underprice, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal: and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed three hundred talents; but, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread-corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of seven thousand one hundred talents. The greatest part of his fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his ene-

mies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also, how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together.* In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence in time he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived: For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these, was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master, to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying, that no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army: For, as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour; nor consequently can

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burnt the city.

it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little, which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey and Cæsar and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen, was a very popular thing; and his obliging manner in his common address had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander;* a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is also called Polyhistor and Cornelius; and who is said to have flourished in the times of Sylla.

acquaintance with Crassus; For it is not easy to say, whether his poverty was greater when he entered or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country; on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.* But this was a later circumstance in the life of Crassus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger: But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present. Therefore, he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public: instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there: From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

* Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it, admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suit of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which day-light is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid-servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master, who lay concealed there." Upon which he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says,* he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

* Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he selected a corps of two thousand five hundred men. With these he visited the cities; and most historians agree that he pillaged one called Malaca: But others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he dispatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," said he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers."

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy; raised a respectable army, and showed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed much older men, or even those of his own rank: For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides, his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness robbed his actions of all their grace

and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an underprice, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to, or more severe against such that resembled him.* But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming;" upon which he answered with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent and† distin-

* It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb. Men of the same virtues love each other for the sake of those virtues; but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey; it was the case of Marius and many others.

guishing himself in the field; when present, Crassus often carried his point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected: he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people; and he very rarely served those who made application to him; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them; he constantly made his appearance; he was easy of access; his life was spent in business and good offices; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to the dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition: though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend, nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who

was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest? he answered, "He wears wisps upon his horns."* So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this; One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them therefore agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders.† The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian in his manner.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy.‡ This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua; whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away

* This passed into a proverb.

† Spartacus, Chrysus, and Oenomaus. This war began in the year of Rome 680; before Christ 71.

‡ His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor,* was then sent against them from Rome, with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds, of the country, men of great vigour and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitering parties and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators, was Publius Varinus.† They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thousand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty. Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his *lictors* and the very horse he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate: he had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans; and

* Clodius Claber.

† In the different editions of Livy Ephton, it is read Varenus Varinius, &c.

therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gellius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as the successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions: giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new-armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now intrusted with. The first five hundred, who had shown the

greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had been long disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where at the head of two thousand men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered,* and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him, but they had no sooner taken his money, than they broke their engagement and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and intrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the Isthmus. This he knew would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth, and as many in depth; he built a wall also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking: But when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials; and so passed with the third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt, that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of his having written to the senate, *that it was necessary to recal Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain*; and hastened to finish the war himself; for he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance, would rob him of all the honour. He resolved therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scropha the quæstor, marched after, to harass his rear: But Spartacus facing about the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania

with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching, and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would, by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; If I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He, however, still stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which fortune favoured him; he performed every act of generalship; he exposed his person in the boldest manner; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots."*

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater

* "Labore alieno magno partam gloriam verbis in se transmovet qui habet salem." *Terren.*

triumph; and even the less, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. In what respect this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have considered in the life of Marcellus.

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily espoused his cause; and at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, "He was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him, as for their favour to himself. However, the same good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum and gave the people an account of a vision that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office, before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech, than the people insisted that they should be reconciled..... Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand: "I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the name of *Great*, while he was but a beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without any

thing worth mentioning.* He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the best natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said, that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Cataline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conspirators; but no one gave credit to his information.† It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime; but that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter into his hands, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero and would have shown it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him :..... hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

* He was censor six years after his consulship, sixty-three years before the birth of Christ.

† Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, the informer was suborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was so large?

About this time Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma, he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them; for which purpose he represented, "That, by levelling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos; who would be nothing if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had in his being unanimously elected consul. And, as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established, as in an impregnable castle; for, they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice, now added a new one. The achievements, the victories, and triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and

armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon Marcellinus and Domitius* asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation: "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—if not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions: only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus," he said, "they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim, to be chief magistrates at home, as to seize the provinces, and so divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there; for they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they way-laid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his

* Domitius Ahenobarbus.

friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the rest. Then they shut them all up together, till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; insomuch, that even before strangers and the populace, he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes, and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition: for, in general, he was far from being pompous, or inclined to vanity. But now extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the Eastern Ocean; and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the East.

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Cæsar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to set out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not, without indignation, think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the vene-

ration the populace had for him: and, on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus, and to raise a clamour against him, yet, when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office, he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him; but the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a censer with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttering the most horrid imprecations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such power,* that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them, is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake, that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brandusium; and, though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age,† and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only stood upon its defence. The prince

*..... Dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victimi. *Hor.*

† Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 679.

who governed it, was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about a hundred men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia.* Crassus, upon taking it suffered his army to salute him *Imperator;* a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him; it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting any thing considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns that had submitted, with seven thousand foot, and a thousand horse, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of a thousand select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first and none of the least, was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: instead of which he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis.† And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, some Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principal which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge

* Zenodotia, in the province of Osrhoene.

† About twenty miles from the Euphrates, there was a city known by the several names of Bambyce, Edessa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

of every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in this short speech; "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcileable; But if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country, (which they were informed was the case), to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade: He said, "He would give them his answer at Seleucia." Upon which, Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Crassus, here will hair grow, before thou wilt see Seleucia."

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes,* and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They said they had been eye-witnesses to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effect, than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through every thing, and the defensive arms are so well tempered, that nothing can pierce them."

* Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the Second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

The Roman soldiers were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of: insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the quæstor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered, that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes* king of Armenia. That prince came with six thousand horse, which he said were only his body guard. He promised Crassus ten thousand more, armed at all points, and thirty thousand foot, all to be maintained at his own expence. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with; but your march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge.

* In the text he is here called Artabases; but as Plutarch calls him Artavasdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

The place which he had marked out for a camp, was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war-horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentiles and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said, "He had broke down the bridge, that not one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the *aruspex* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were struck with astonishment; but he only said with a smile, "See what it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates, with seven legions, near four thousand horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and told him, they had not found so much as one man in their excursions; but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again and advised him, "To secure his troops in some fortified town, till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia: For by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from the vessels that would follow his camp; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes.* This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans: But now gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immense plain, where he might easily be surrounded: For the enemy thought of nothing less, than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker. Then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army; but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people, who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or, suppose you have to fight," said he "you ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance: For Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreck his vengeance upon Artavasdes; Surena was left with the other, to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans: For Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehensions of danger which made him keep at a distance and watch the rising

* Appian and Dion Cassius calls him Acharus or Agbarus.

event; in order to which he sent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's strength and to amuse them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thousand heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than ten thousand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family, to put the diadem upon the king's head when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment: So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed: but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, "That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where, with their united for-

ces, they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry; but to keep close to the mountains." Crassus in his resentment and infatuation would send no answer in writing; he only said, "he was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was again extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these: "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent demon has brought thee amongst us? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them: "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you met with there? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians?" Thus the traitor admonished or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitering party returned, with an account that their

comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first agreebly to the opinion of Cassius he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings; but soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, wich in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave great pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against them at break of day; But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected: For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded.

with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing: For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed, that of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breastplates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was possessed of: For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through the foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge: But they had not gone far, before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force, and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and strength of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; not needing to take any exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows

were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was consequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience; but as soon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied, Crassus seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was, to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded: For it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this the young man took thirteen hundred horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made a thousand, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which some say was the case, or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possbily could from his father, turned their backs and fled.* The young man cried out, *They dare not stand us*, and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus;† the latter a man-

* It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

† It is not easy to say what the Roman name Megabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old translation *Cnei. Plancus*. Probably that translator might have the authority of some manuscript.

noted for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind; For they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them; and before they died, endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews; an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds, and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius* desired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence: For his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he work-

* Young Crassus.

ed wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them, pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls, was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they had lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind; but upon an eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape: They fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræa. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, "There was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake." At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he dispatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had de-

ended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above five hundred prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture; After he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greatest part of them were then gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger: but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions, that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man; "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremour which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and

glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who are bereaved of the best of sons show it in your resentment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph; avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss; they must always have something to suffer, who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expence of blood. Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy; but no previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors. For it was not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity, that Rome has risen to her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many to listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle: for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy armed charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not do much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily dispatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.*

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son; if he did not in the mean time consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fightiug at this day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of which were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection too, against retiring, in the wounded, who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them; but he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground; a sad example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune: and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill-placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many millions of men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then by their own authority summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first: But when the sick and wounded perceived that they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies: They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bid them go and tell Coponius who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself

farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as soon as he was apprised that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and dispatched them to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded the little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus with the best of his officers and troops had escaped, and that those who had retired into Carræ, were only a mixed multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory: but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or pursue Crassus, wherever he might have fled: For this purpose he dispatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus, he accepted the proposal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia: for he thought this more advantageous to

both, than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution: But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Saggitary."* Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with five hundred horse. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering in bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do was, to retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plains. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "The King had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy: But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Here-

upon the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged of them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near: But when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to speak these few words: "You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer. But, when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen.

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless he sent two brothers of the name of Roscius before him, to enquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country."....."Then," said Surena, "from this moment

there shall be peace and alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." At the same time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted Crassus, began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended, endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind Octavius, dispatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breast-plate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres;* though some say, another dispatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge: For part of those who attended, were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them, Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but, as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the sword. It is said, that in all there were twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock

* Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in some copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who, of all the prisoners, most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.

These things were to amuse the populace: But after the farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides called *Milesiacs*. Nor was this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans: For the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius,* gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian sybaris,† with a long train of carriages full of harlots; insomuch that his army resembled the serpents called *scytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war-horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiacs*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne, were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacorus. On this occasion they freely went to each other's entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented;

* One of the Bodleian manuscripts has it Roscius.

† Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the Bacchæ of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment, prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

> Well are our toils repaid: On yonder mountain
> We pierced the lordly savage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

> The *Chorus* asks, "Who gave the glorious blow?"
> *Agave* answers, "Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this, started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exodium*,* or farce after it.

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after.

* Exodium, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

And that prince, having lost his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder, which turned to a dropsy. His second son, Phraates, took the opportunity to give him aconite; but finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands.*

NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

ONE of the first things that occurs in this comparison, is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their being.—

* There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east: They were nothing more than the joy of a miser when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or the defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians; and to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of thirty thousand Romans.

But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his extorting it from the allies, his over-reaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men; nothing like these things was ever imputed by Slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides, but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus, the orator, afterwards made a merit of to the people: when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, "I rejoice," said he, "that after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it."

As to their expences, Nicias appears to have been more public-spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myriads of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character; particularly when he sees men laying out that money in an honourable manner, which they have got dishonourably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence or effrontery: On the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and he was modest or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again, if his interest required it, is justly accused of

an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he used violence to attain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded and four citizens killed; nay, Crassus himself struck a senator, named Lucius Annalius, who opposed his measures, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance which escaped us in his life), and drove him out of the *forum* covered with blood.

But if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean submission to the most abandoned persons in the state, deserves the greatest reproach. Besides, Crassus showed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment, in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the dispute well with them for power; and in the high honour of the censorship he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to stand at the helm, should not consider what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may, by its lustre, force envy to speak behind. But if security and repose are to be consulted above all things, if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *rostrum*, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourself the soft crown of tranquillity, as some of the philosophers express it. The love Nicias had for peace, was, indeed, a divine attachment, and his endeavours, during his whole administration, to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the lead should not give place, for a moment to persons of no principle; he should intrust no charge with those who want capacity, nor place any confidence in those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleon to the command of the army, a man who had nothing to recommend him, but

his impudence and his bawling in the rostrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence; though his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean spirited:* He would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander in chief, while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command, who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him, by a sum of money, to give up his pretentions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short, the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon, in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease, and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ablest and best general they had. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such a charge never gained one, except in the war with the gladiators; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the

* The sense requires that we should read δειλον, not δεινον.

Lucullus's were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)

In all trades skill'd except the trade of war.

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them rest till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination; and it was against the inclinations of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect, it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former, as a general, kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered, the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the West, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian Ocean on the East, and to conquer all Asia: things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected, if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached, both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed three hundred thousand Germans Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace: But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods, for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, If Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces! For, according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and men can-

not sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende; nor yet for going in chase of the fugitive Æginetæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country: The price of injustice should be high; so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Nor were all his miscarriages so many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors, that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour; wherefore we need not so much wonder that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his exit: He did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the instances of his friends, he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians: Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.

SERTORIUS.

It is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages happens often to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar: For if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there must necessarily be a return of the same occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with in history or conversation, which have such a characteristical likeness, as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Attis:* the one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers.† Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses; the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse;‡ the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as

* Pausanias, in his Achaics, mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calaus the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields, and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

† Acteon, the son of Aristæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Acteon, the son of Melissus, by the Bacchiadæ. See the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, Book iv.

‡ These are all wooden instances of events, being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay, they are such puerilities as Timæus himself scarce ever gave into.

they should have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the most odoriferous plants, *Ios** and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is said to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life we are now going to write; a man whose conduct, with respect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal. But, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them all in success. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, most resembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia.† Both of them excelled in point of generalship; in all the art of stratagem, as well as courage. Both were banished their own countries, and commanded armies in others; and both had to contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice; and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself; But his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

* Some suppose Ios to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

† In the Thracian Chersonesus.

He made his first campaign under Cæpio,* when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself, yet he swam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breastplate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent: Such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy came on a second time, with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose, he took a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into the measures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour: and during that whole war, he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a legionary tribune, under Didius into Spain, and took up his winter-quarters in Castulo,† a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers living in great plenty, behaved in an insolent and disorderly maner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians seeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got assistance from their neighbours the Gyrisœnians,‡ they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means

* In the printed text it is *Scipio;* but two manuscripts give us *Cæpio.* And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the consul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Christian era.

† A town of New Castile, on the confines of Andalusia.

‡ The Gyrisœnians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we should read *Orisians.* The Orisians were of that district. See *Cellarius.*

to escape, sallied out and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyrisœnians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyrisœnians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success: The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates: the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in the Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one; for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said, others did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune, at the same time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the highest respect: When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; an honour which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in Sylla's interest; but Cinna, the other consul, whose temper was restless and seditious, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, a great battle was fought by the consuls in the *forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost not much less than ten thousand men, were forced to fly. But as there was a number of troops scattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with that addition found themselves able to make head against Octavius again. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius opposed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay so much attention to him, when he had a man of so much greater name as a general in his army; or whether he feared the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confusion again; as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation whenever he had the advantage; he remonstrated, that as they were already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the same time, for he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that the sentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was ashamed, and indeed knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do: But, as he came up-

on your invitation, you should not have deliberated* a moment whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: On the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves whom Marius had admitted his fellow-soldiers, and afterwards employed as the guards of his tyranny,† were a strong and numerous body; and that partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus, carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success: For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, when Sylla encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

* Qui deliberant desciverunt. *Tacit.*

† The *Bardiæans.*

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. Those that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman proconsul to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "Time was the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts." He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill-disposed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers, was the most agreeable measure: For he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe: And though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he made himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would soon be sent against him under the conduct of an able general. For this reason he sent Julius Salinator, with six thousand foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not know-

ing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius passed them, easily repulsing with his great army the few that opposed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage; where he embarked, and crossed over to Africa. The Maurusian coast was the land he touched upon; and his men going on shore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number; so that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coasts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make a descent there; but having met with some vessels of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the isle of Pityusa,* forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after, Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thousand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him; though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west-wind springing up, raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the straits of Gades, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large tract to discharge itself in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes.† There he found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands.‡ These are two in number, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of four hundred leagues || from the Afri-

* Now *Ivica*.
† *Bæatica*, now *Andalusia*.
‡ The Canaries.
|| In the original, *ten thousand furlongs*.

can coast. They are called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits, and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the north and east winds which blow from our continent, in the immense track they have to pass, are dissipated and lost; While the sea winds, that is the south and the west, bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty on their plains: So that it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields, and the Seats of the Blessed, which Homer has described in all the charms of verse.*

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to fix himself in these islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to restore Ascalis, the son of Iphtha, to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people who were at war with Ascalis, in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle; after which he besieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon Sylla interposed, and sent Parcinanus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted, and took the city of Tingis,† whither Ascalis and his

* Odyss. IV.

† In the text *Tingene*. Strabo tells us the barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*, and Eratosthenes that of *Lixus*.

brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long.* He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city, to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Gibians and Myceneans, settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians; for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those that surrendered themselves, or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government in their hands again; taking nothing for himself but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them; For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more

* If it did not appear from Strabo, that Plutarch has here only copied the fable of Gabinius, concerning the statute of Antæus, we should be inclined to think that there was an error in the text, and that instead of ἐξηκοντα, we should read ἐξ ἐχοντι referring the participle to σωματι immediately preceding. We the more readily give into this opinion, as the antiques of Hercules and Antæus do not represent the latter more in proportion than half a cubit higher than the former. And if we are to believe, at the same time, that Hercules, after he had killed Atæus, had connections with his widow, that must confirm us in the altered reading.

prosperous fortune; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as dispatch, was necessary for seizing a pass, or securing a strong-hold, one of the greatest masters of stratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true, his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he showed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite vice. Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present, having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival, he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency, as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least.* Spanus a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but, charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him, taken in hunting, or of the production of the field he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary

* Sertorius had learned these arts of Marius.

notice of it; But in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair; giving it out, that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important secrets; for he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of this scheme, when the enemy was making a private eruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice, and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable, that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger but the immediate direction of heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion: For, with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans (though among them there were seven hundred Africans, who came over with him), and an addition of four thousand light-armed Lusitanians, and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea in the straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius*

* Xylander has it *Didius* which is agreeable to some manuscripts; Cruserius, upon conjecture only, reads it *Aufidius*. But, as the learned Moses Du Soul observes, there is a corrupt and insignificant πω in the text,....Καὶ ἐνανμαχησεν πω Φιδιον δὲ ...and thence he concludes, with some degree of probability, that we should read *Furfidius*.

who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius,* proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius,† one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harrassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of his Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living: whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and had brought his strength and activity to the greatest perfection, by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he

Freinshem, in his Supplement to Livy, (xc. 28.) calls this general *Furfidius;* and he might do it upon the authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

* *Lusius* in the text again is corrupt. We read it Lucius Manlius from Orosius and Livy.

† Florus has it *Thorius*

found no manner of difficulty in it, and if he had occasion to pursue or surround the enemy, he could execute it with ease.

Hence it was, that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying, as he could have done by conquering and pursuing: For he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them; and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were besieged the besiegers: insomuch, that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given; insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for, as Theophrastus says, "A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."

He found that the Langobritæ were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himself master of the springs in the suburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town; but concluding he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days provisions with them. But Sertorius gave the people speedy assistance. He got two thousand skins and filled them with water promising a good reward for the care of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service on this occasion; and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered these vessels, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and, as his provisions began to fail he sent out Aquilius * with six thousand men to

* The common reading in the Greek text is *Aquinus*, but the manuscripts give us *Aquilius*.

collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thousand men who were placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At the same time Sertorius himself, charging him in front killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly insulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered vests, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example.* The finishing stroke was, his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca,† and his furnishing them with masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commissions; but in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile, the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expence to them: For Sertorius took the whole upon himself often examining besides into the improvements they made, and distributing proper rewards to those of most merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bullæ*.

* Alexander had taken the same method before him, among the Persians. For he ordered thirty thousand Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

† A city in Hispania Tarraconensis.

It was then the custom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's person, when he fell, to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death, the barbarians call a *Libation*.* The other generals had but a few of these guards or nights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to save Sertorius, exposed themselves without any precaution. They passed him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was secure, then they dispersed, and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by those which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the same party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money and a respectable army, intending to proceed in his operations against Metellus upon his own bottom, the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter stop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to save both himself and those under his command: So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.†

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a great army; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain to see them behave with the disorder and ferocity of barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they had no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often

* In Gaul, the persons who laid themselves under this obligation, were called *Soldarii*. *Cæs. de Bell. Gal.* l. iii.

† A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

demanding the combat in a very unseasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, in consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation: They fought and were beaten; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them out of their despondence: For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time, to the great diversion of the spectators, and at last was forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair.* Then Sertorius rose up, and said, "You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those that have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those who will be rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

But his contrivance, with respect to the Characitani, gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are seated be-

* Horace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

yond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about it is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder with the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius retiring to some distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill; and the savage inhabitants imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or willing to show them he was not flying from an enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed that the wind blew the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I said before, are all to the north.* The north wind, which some call *Cæcias*,† prevails most in those parts; taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians imagining he intended to storm their strong-holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprung up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun got up

* Media inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem. *Plin.* l. ii. c. 47.

† Narrant et in Ponto Cæcian in se trahere nubes. Ib.

higher, the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with dust. Meantime the soldiers stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind, which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and of course had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were soon filled, and they could scarce breathe for the suffocating dust which they drew in with the air. In these wretched circumstances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion; who, by reducing them, did not gain such an accession of strength as of honour: For an honour it was to subdue those by policy, whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war against Metellus only, his success in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops so light, that they might pass rather for a marauding party than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was exhausted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this case, the fame of Sertorius greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered as the ablest general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired, was very considerable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, set him in a very respectable light, insomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was distinguished with a triumph, even before he wrote man. This made many of the cities which were under the command of Sertorius, cast their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected success that attended Sertorius at Lauron.*

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might

* A city of Hither Spain, five leagues from Valentia.

be greatly annoyed. Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him; but the former gained the post. Pompey, however, sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy, and sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him besiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and said, "I will teach that scholar of Sylla (so in ridicule he called Pompey,) that a general ought to look behind him rather than before him." At the same time he showed the besieged a body of six thousand foot in the camp which he had quitted, in order to seize the hill, and which had been left there on purpose to take Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack Sertorius in the post he now occupied.

Pompey, not discovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. And yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered to Sertorius, who was pleased to spare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in ashes. This was not done out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever,) but to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it was said among the barbarians, that though he was at hand, and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the course of the war; but it was not where he acted in person; for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he met with more applause, than his adversaries in the midst of their success; instances of which we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttia* with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it, to prevent Metellus

* Grævius conjectures, that we should read *Turia*, the *Turius* being a river which falls into the Sucro.

from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness a hinderance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing, opposite to *him*, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his left gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who before was pursuing: nay, that general was in the greatest danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty: For the Africans who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having, taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit, to quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the mean time, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to succour the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely pursuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the soldiers from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant, Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off, and decamped. He did it however, with an air of gaiety; "If the old woman," said he, had not been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to Rome."

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted for the loss of his hind: For she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the colour, brought her to him.

Sertorius, happy to find her again, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind; and a few days after appeared in public with a cheerful countenance, to transact business, telling the barbarian officers, that he had some extraordinary happiness announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the dispatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant the hind being let loose near the place, by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in the manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of a sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly at first looked on with silent astonishment: but afterwards they testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a person of a superior nature, beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him to his pavillion, and resumed all the hopes and spirits with which he could have wished to inspire them.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of provisions; and as they were determined at last to go out to forage and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both sides. Mummius the best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and, through heaps of the slain, made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last was borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulse of shame, as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, till others carried him off in safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, to secure a safe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city strongly situated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing less than standing a siege. The enemy, however, were

deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions, when they had assembled a sufficient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new-raised troops, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: At land, by laying ambushes, or hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter; At sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter-quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for want of money; insomuch that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, if they did not supply him; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey; So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published; for which Metellus offered a reward of an hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator;* and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in ma-

chines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. These circumstances were extremely ridiculous, if he expressed so much joy and such superabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a senate. Out of them he appointed quæstors and lieutenants, and in every thing he proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of still greater moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors, to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it was one of the first in his heart. Yet, in his greatest misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity; On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He said, he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world.

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; consequently his affection centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted to constitute him supreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief; for seven whole days he neither gave the word nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last, his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground, and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a

lover of tranquillity, but was brought against his inclination, by some means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity, than those that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and renewed his pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west, carried back news of his achievements, like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters; the one being the most excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his counsel, which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinions that he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them; since they were only asked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim, a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace

with Sylla, he could never consent that he should be put in possession of it again. "Rome," said he "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it is not my right to rise to power at her expence. A man who has any dignity of sentiment, should conquer with honour, and not use any base means even to save his life."

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends: "What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate-house at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, he prescribes bounds to our empire, and threatens us with war if we make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was sworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to supply him with a general and some troops; the king on the other hand, was to furnish Sertorius with three thousand talents, and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius sent into Asia, was a senator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, had taken some cities in Asia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had once more a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a footing with him, no sooner saw themselves as a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these: "What evil dæmon possesses us, and leads us from bad to worse? We who, would not stay at home and submit to the orders of Sylla, who is master both of sea and land, what are we come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary slaves; guards to the exiled Ser-

torius. We suffer ourselves to be amused with the title of a senate; a title despised and ridiculed by all the world. O noble senators, who submit to the most mortifying tasks and labours, as much as the meanest Spaniards and Lusitanians!"

Numbers were attacked with these and such like discourses; and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, and collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience: insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injustice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death, and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest Perpenna drew in Manlius,* who had a considerable command in the army. * * * * * * * * * * * * He and his partisans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which, with much entreaty, he prevailed with him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was present, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midst of the entertainment, the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or

* Dacier thinks we should read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the first blow.

guessing at their designs by the manner of their drawling them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony, who sat next to Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to get up; but Antony, throwing himself upon his breast held both his hands; so that not being able in the least to defend himself, the rest of the conspirators dispatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he had the use of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made so ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command, than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in this last distress did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession, and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity, and the greatest interest in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy in consequence of the desire of numbers, who wanted a change in the present face of affairs, and a new administration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all those letters and the other papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, lest he should mention the names of those who wrote the letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate; some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others who fled into Africa, shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

EUMENES.

DURIS the historian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian was the son of a poor waggoner in the Chersonesus, and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue*. He says, that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in the *pancration*†, and the boys in wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and showed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others assert, with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he discharged his commissions; and though he had only the title of principal secretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counsellors; insomuch that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition; and, upon the death of Hephæstion, when Perdiccas had the post of that favourite, he succeeded Perdiccas‡. Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to say, after the death of Alexander, "That he had borne the shield and spear of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only followed with his escrutoir; the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, besides other marks of honour, Alexander

* There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught without distinction.

† The *pancration* (as we have already observed) was a composition of wrestling and boxing.

‡ In the printed text it is ἐπαρχίαν, *province*. But as we know of no government that Alexander gave Eumenes, ἱππαρχίαν, *a command in the cavalry*, which is the reading in some manuscripts, appears preferable. And Cornelius Nepos confirms it in these words: *Præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ.*

had thought Eumenes not unworthy his alliance: For Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the first lady Alexander took to his bed in Asia, and who brought him a son named Hercules, had two sisters; one of which, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy, and the other, called also Barsine, he gave to Eumenes, at the time when he was selecting Persian ladies as wives for his friends*.

Yet it must be acknowledged, he was often in disgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger too, on account of Hephæstion. In the first place, Hephæstion gave a musician, named Evius, the quarters which the servants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with Mentor†, and cried, "The best method they could take, was to throw away their arms, and learn to play upon the flute, or turn tragedians." Alexander at first entered into his quarrel, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion: But he soon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his displeasure upon Eumenes; thinking he had behaved with more disrespect to him than resentment against Hephæstion.

Again, when Alexander wanted to send out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coasts of the ocean, he found his treasury low, and asked his friends for a supply. Among the rest, he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and assured him, at the same time, he should find it difficult to collect that sum by his stewards. Alexander refused the offer, but did not remonstrate or complain. However, he ordered his servants privately to set fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falsity. It happened that the tent was entirely consumed, and Alexander was sorry on ac-

* Alexander had married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and given the youngest, named Trypetis, to Hephæstion. This was a measure well calculated for establishing him and his posterity on the Persian throne; but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. Therefore, to support it on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he selected eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia, and persuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

† Mentor was brother to Memnon, whose widow Barsine was Alexander's mistress. He was also brother-in-law to Artabazus; and the second Barsine, whom Eumenes married, seems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's sister.

count of the loss of his papers. There was gold and silver found melted, to the amount of more than a thousand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grandees and lieutenants, to send him copies of the dispatches that were lost, upon their arrival, he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, on account of some present from the king to one of them. Much severe and abusive language passed between them, yet Alexander, for the present, did not look upon Eumenes with the less regard. But, Hephæstion dying soon after, the king, in his unspeakable affliction for that loss, expressed his resentment against all who he thought envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of those whom he most suspected of such sentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the severe language those differences had produced. Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very person through whom he had lost the king's favour, the means of regaining it. He seconded the zeal and application of Alexander, to celebrate the memory of Hephæstion. He suggested such instances of veneration as he thought might do most honour to the deceased, and contributed largely and freely, out of his own purse, towards the expences of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart, sided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance stood neuter, as a person perfectly indifferent; saying, it did not become him, who was a stranger, to interfere in the disputes of the Macedonians. And when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he staid there, endeavouring to appease that body of infantry, and to dispose them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were past, and the generals met to consult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries assigned Eumenes were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coast of the sea of Pontus, as far as Trapezus. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great

army, and put Eumenes in possession. Antigonus, now elated with power, and despising all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas: But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promised to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecatæus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and desired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were besieged in Lamia*. Leonatus being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had suspicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in consequence of which Eumenes had ~~only~~ accused Hecatæus of setting himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to their liberty. He now desired to be excused taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated him, to gratify himself as well as Hecatæus, would make some attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the assisting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he designed, as soon as he landed in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedonia. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra†, in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics, well armed, and all his treasure, amounting to five thousand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and, as he acquainted that general with the secret designs of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a share in his counsels. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army; took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued all the country, and established Eumenes in that government.

* A city of Thessaly.
† The sister of Alexander.

in consequence of which Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garrisons, with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and superintendants of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire disposition of those things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas; choosing to give him that testimony of respect, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from his court. But Perdiccas, satisfied that he could himself execute the designs he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces he had left behind, required an able and faithful guardian, sent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government; but the real intention, that he should secure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was disturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of sanguine pursuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however endeavoured to keep him to his duty, by soothing applications. And as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he applied himself to raising a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoise against them: For this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province who were good horsemen. He also bought a great number of horses, and distributed them among such of his courtiers as he placed the greatest confidence in; exciting them by honours and rewards, and training them to strength and skill, by a variety of exercises. The Macedonians, upon this, were differently, affected, some with astonishment, and others with joy, to see a body of cavalry collected, to the number of six thousand three hundred, and trained in so short a space of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, passed into Asia, to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their first intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himself was engaged in war with Ptolemy: he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia; and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had invested with discretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refused to submit to that injunction; alleging that the Macedo-

nians would be ashamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was such that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes; for when called upon, he refused to join him, and, instead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foresight and timely preparations: For, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were dispersed upon the pursuit, he fell upon them in such good order with his horse, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to serve him. Neoptolemus collected some of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes, to desire him to adopt their interests, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops; in which case he would find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and continue in friendship with Craterus, instead of turning his arms against him.

Eumenes made answer to these proposals, "That having long been on a footing of enmity with Antipater, he did not choose to be his friend, at a time when he saw him treating his friends as so many enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him to Perdiccas, and to compromise matters between them upon just and reasonable terms: But if he should begin hostilities, he would support his injured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather sacrifice life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures they should pursue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them an account of the battle he had lost, and requested assistance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He said, "The Macedonians had so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they saw but his hat, or heard one accent of his tongue, they would immediately run to him with their swords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among

them, and, after the death of Alexander, most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks he had run of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes; how he had combated the inclination for Persian fashions, which insensibly grew upon him, and supported the customs of his country against the insults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now sent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a considerable part of the forces himself, marched along with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. If Eumenes foresaw his coming and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance necessary in a general; we see nothing in that of superior genius: But when, besides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we see characteristical proofs of generalship: For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was advancing again with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse. The night he designed to decamp, he fell into a sound sleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he saw two Alexanders prepared to try their strength against each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to support the one and Ceres the other. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Alexander assisted by Minerva was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favour, because he had to fight for a country which was most of it in tillage, and which had then so excellent a crop well advanced towards the sickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander;* and in opposition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander*. At the same time, he ordered his men to crown themselves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was several times upon the point of declaring to his principal officers and captains what adversary they had to contend with; thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himself a secret so important, and perhaps necessary for them to

know. Yet he abode by his first resolution, and trusted his own heart only with the danger that might ensue.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the first sight of the enemy, and come to close fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to speak or send any herald, they were not to regard it: For he had strong apprehensions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himself, with a troop of three hundred select horse, went and posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill that separated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with such impetuosity, that Craterus was extremely surprised, and expressed his resentment in strong terms against Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change sides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In the first shock, which was very violent, the spears were soon broke, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no dishonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who assailed him in front: But at last he received a side-blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him; and being well acquainted with his person, leaped from his horse and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he was at the last extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the mean time, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes. The most violent hatred had long subsisted between them, and this day added stings to it. They knew not one another in the two first encounters, but in the third they did; and then they rushed forward impetuously with swords drawn and loud shouts. The shock their horses met with was so violent, that it resembled that of two galleys. The

fierce antagonists quitted the bridles, and laid hold on each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breastplate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horses went from under them; and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wrestled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to rise first, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus being wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adversary a mortal blow. At last receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched himself upon the ground. Eumenes with all the eagerness of inveterate hatred, hastening to strip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not observe that his sword was still in his hand; so that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuirass, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the stroke was but feeble, the apprehensions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse and made up to his left wing, which he supposed might still be engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he hastened to him; and finding his breath and his senses not quite gone, he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while he lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel necessity he was under of coming to extremities with his most intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raised him to a high rank of honour, because it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the same time it exposed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It seemed hard to them, that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, should have destroyed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the Macedonians with the arms of those very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought sooner to Perdiccas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre: But he was slain in a mutiny in

Egypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horses which were pasturing upon Mount Ida, and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them, When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said, "He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes who must certainly expect to see the account of the king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or other.

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had. However, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to the Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he said, "This makes good the observation, every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affections of the soldiers; insomuch that when papers were found in his camp dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals promised a hundred talents and great honours to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave order that from that time he should have a body-guard of a thousand officer-like men* always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in

* Των χιλιαρχων.

waiting day and night. There was not a man who refused that charge; and they were glad to receive from Eumenes the marks of honour, which those who are called the king's friends used to receive from the hands of royalty. For he too was empowered to distribute purple hats and rich robes, which were considered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to bestow.

Prosperity gives some appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we see something of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where Fortune has placed them: But he who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will show it most by the dignity of his behaviour under losses, and in the most adverse fortune. So did Eumenes. When he had lost a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himself, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but took him and hanged him upon the spot. In his flight he took a different way from the pursuers, and privately turned round in such a manner, as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead; whom he collected, and burnt with the door-posts of the neigbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common soldiers were burnt upon separate piles; and when he had raised great monuments of earth over them he decamped: So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, a great number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been amassed in so many wars, and the plunder of so many countries: but he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches and spoils, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardship of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal resource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was sensible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the spoil, when it was so much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refresh themselves, and feed their horses, before they attacked the enemy: In the mean time he privately sent a messen-

ger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship which had subsisted between them, advised him to provide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired after which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all the soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness, for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonoured their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was this; "Think not, my good friends, it was for your sake he let them go; it was for his own. He did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes, being forced to wander and fly from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him; either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the castle of Nora,* on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, here again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart, as did not like the inconveniences of the place, and the meanness of diet,† and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and before he formed that siege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, "Antigonus had many friends, and generals to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.
† A hundred left him upon this offer.

the troops he had the care of, had none to command or to protect them after him." He therefore insisted that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wanted to treat with him in person. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him first, as the greater man, he said, "While I am master of my sword, I shall never think any man greater than myself." At last Antigonus sent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was past. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services besides: insomuch that all who attended on the occasion, admired his firmness, and were astonished at his greatness of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes; for, after the death of Craterus no man was so much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they should offer him some violence, called to them to keep at a distance; and when they still kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and salt, but in want of every thing else requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision he furnished out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns; for he took care to season his provisions with agreeable discourse and the utmost cordiality. His appearance was, indeed, very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant; and the proportion of his limbs was so excellent, that they might seem to have come from the chissel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a soft and persuasive way of speaking, as we may conclude from his epistles.

He observed, that the greatest inconvenience to the garrison was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, inclosed as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit; so that they were forced to take their food without exercise, and their horses to do the same. To remove the languor which is the consequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largest in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horses he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters. Then he raised their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, till they could scarce touch the ground with their fore-feet, but, at the same time, they stood firm upon their hind-feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horses, thus irritated, bounded furiously on their hind-feet, or strained to set their fore-feet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exercised, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exercise, which was no bad one either for speed or strength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner dispatch, and better digest it.

As the siege was drawn out to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animosities between Cassander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior prospects, and grasped the whole empire in his schemes; in consequence of which, he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose he sent to him Hieronymus *, with proposals of peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the most reasonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the rest ran in his own

* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their successors.

name. Eumenes, therefore put Olympias and the princes of the blood first: and he proposed to engage himself by oath of fealty, not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more consistent with justice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raised the siege. They likewise sent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Meantime Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages he had in Nora, and in return they furnished him with horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected great part of his soldiers who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By this means he assembled near a thousand horse *, with which he marched off as fast as possible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be besieged again, and shut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters, expressed great resentment against the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein she invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's son, whose life she conceived to be in danger. At the same time, Polyperchon and king Phillip sent him orders to carry on the war against Antigonus with the forces in Cappadocia. They empowered him also to take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda,† for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and as much more as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus too, who commanded the *Argyraspides*, had directions to support him.

These officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception, but it was not difficult to discover the envy and jealousy they had in their hearts, and how much they disdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them, he did not want. To remove their obstinacy and ambi-

* Diodorus Siculus says two thousand.
† In Caria.

tion for the first place, was not so easy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case he called in the assistance of superstition. He said, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it; after which that prince declared, "If they would hold their councils, and dispatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and action which commenced under his auspices."*

He easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this vision. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he choose to dishonour his commission by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander; and thither they repaired to consult upon the most important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly strengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the most magnificent provision of all the requisites of war. But power and affluence had rendered these governors so untractable in society, and so dissolute in their way of living, since the death of Alexander, and they came together with a spirit of despotism, so nursed by barbaric pride, that they soon became obnoxious to each other, and no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them with money in such a manner, for their entertainments and sacrifices, that, in a little time, their camp looked like a place of public reception for every scene of intemperance; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

* In consequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes proposed to take a sum out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the sceptre and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to that prince: that every morning a sacrifice should be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy suitable to the genius of Eumenes.

Eumenes soon perceived that the new-arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large sums of those that hated him most,* in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least might give up their designs upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himself, in the opulence of others; and, though men in general seek to save their lives by giving, he provided for his safety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of those that affected the command. But, when Antigonus came and encamped over against them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the soldiers, but the very grandees, who had taken so much state upon them in time of peace and pleasure, freely gave place to him, and took the post he assigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him; and he did it so effectually that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thousand prisoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be sick, still more particularly showed, that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the solemnities of peace, but that he was the only person among them fit to lead an army. For, Peucestas having feasted them in a sumptuous manner in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, at some distance from the ranks, lest his rest, which was very precarious, should be disturbed with the noise. They had not gone far, before the enemy suddenly made their appearance, for they had passed the intermediate hills, and were now descending into the plain. The lustre of their golden armour glittering in the sun, as

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

they marched down the hill, the elephants with their towers on their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when they were advancing to the combat, struck the troops that were to oppose them with such surprise, that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes; declaring that they would not move a step farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the same time they grounded their arms, exhorted each other to stop, and insisted that their officers should not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves that carried the litter. He likewise opened the curtains, and stretched out his hand, in token of his joy. On the first sight of the general of their heart, the troops saluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud shouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themselves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learned from some prisoners, that Eumenes was so extremely ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he should find no great difficulty in beating the other generals; and therefore hastened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still some time, in silent admiration. At last, spying the litter carried about, from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and said to his friends, "Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle against us." After this he immediately retreated to his intrenchments*.

* There are some particulars in Diodorus, which deserve to be inserted here. After the two armies were separated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other; and Antigonus soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted, that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him; which, at this time, they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came into the assembly, and delivered himself in the following fable: "A lion once falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, That he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after marriage, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themselves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene, for winter quarters; insomuch, that the first were at the distance of a thousand furlongs from the last. Antigonus being informed of this circumstance, moved back against them, without losing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, because it was the shortest; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus dispersed, that it would be impossible for their officers to assemble them.

However, as soon as he had entered that desolate country, his troops were attacked with such violent winds, and severe frosts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it necessary to light many fires: For this reason their march could not be concealed. The barbarians, who inhabited the mountains that overlook the desert, wondering what such a number of fires could mean, sent some persons upon dromedaries to Peucestas, with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him such troops as he could collect on the way: But Eumenes soon dispelled

objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately; whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy."—"This," continued he, "is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, presently guessed that his design was to seek quarters of refreshment for his army in the rich district of Gabene. To prevent this, and, at the same time, to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, and sent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which, at length, Antigonus suspected; and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he discerned Eumenes, with his army, below; and Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and disposed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn; and, as soon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a sharp action followed, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last, however, Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media. *Diod. Sic.* lib. xviii.

their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress: For he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harassed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed, by the neighbouring inhabitants, that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much, that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Meantime the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this, Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraspides*, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived among a herd of savage

beasts," and immediately made his will. After which he destroyed all his papers, lest, after his death, charges and impeachments should arise against the persons who wrote them, in consequence of the secrets discovered there. He then considered whether he should put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia; but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends staid with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almost as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces, and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, the *phalanx* and the *Argyraspides* bade him be of good courage, assuring him that the enemy would not stand the encounter: For they were veterans who had served under Philip and Alexander, and, like so many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were seventy years of age, and none less than sixty: So that when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out, "Villains, you fight against your fathers!" Then they fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could stand the shock, and the most of them were cut in pieces upon the spot. But though Antigonus had such bad success in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas, and took all the baggage. Antigonus was a man who had an excellent presence of mind on the most trying occasions, and here the place and the occasion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but, like the sea shore, covered with a fine dry sand, which the trampling of so many men and horses, during the action, reduced to a small white dust, that, like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the prospect; so that it was easy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus sent some of his corps to Antigonus, to desire him to restore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraspides* their baggage, but treat them, in all respects, with the greatest kindness, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argyraspides* came into that abominable measure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In pursuance of this scheme, they ap-

proached him unsuspected, and planted themselves about him: Some lamented the loss of their baggage; some desired him to assume the spirit of victory, which he had gained; others accused the rest of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his sword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was sent by Antigonus to receive him. But, as they led him through the midst of the Macedonians, he desired first to speak to them; not for any request he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence, and stretching out his hands, bound as they were, he said: "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Macedonians! what trophy could Antigonus have wished to raise, like this which you are raising, by delivering up your general bound? Was it not base enough to acknowledge yourselves beaten, merely for the sake of your baggage, as if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and not upon the points of your swords; but you must also send your general as a ransom for that baggage? For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fellow-soldiers. But I conjure you by the god of armies,* and the awful deities who preside over oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will still be yours: Nor will Antigonus complain, if you take the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you choose not to be the immediate instruments, loose but one of my hands, and that shall do the business. If you will not trust me with a sword, then throw me bound as I am to wild beasts. If you comply with this last request, I acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and declare you have behaved to your general like the best and honestest of men."

The rest of the troops received this speech with sighs and tears, and every expression of sorrow; but the *Argyraspides* cried out, "Lead him on, and attend not to his trifling: For it is no such great matter, if an execrable Chersonesian, who has harrassed the Macedo-

* Jupiter.

mians with infinite wars, have cause to lament his fate; as it would be, if the best of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be deprived of the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to beg in their old age: And have not our wives already passed three nights with our enemies?" So saying they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing some bad consequence from the crowd (for there was not a man left in his camp), sent out ten of his best elephants, and a corps of spearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connections there had been between them: And when those who took the charge of him, asked in what manner he would have him kept? He said, "So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheless, he soon felt some impressions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a servant who had been accustomed to wait upon him. He likewise permitted such of his friends as desired it, to pass whole days with him, and to bring him necessary refreshments. Thus he spent some considerable time in deliberating how to dispose of him, and sometimes listened to the applications and promises of Nearchus the Cretan, and his own son Demetrius, who made it a point to save him: But all the other officers insisted that he should be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his enemy into his power, did not either immediately dispatch him, or generously release him?" Onomarchus answered, in a contemptuous manner, "That in the battle, and not now he should have been so ready to meet death." To which Eumenes replied, "By heaven I was so! Ask those who ventured to engage me, if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better man than myself."..... "Well," said Onomarchus, "now you have found a better man than yourself, why do not you patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this means in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: And then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon some

sudden emergency sent in an executioner to dispatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the ashes into a silver urn, in order to their being sent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: And divine justice did not go far to seek instruments of vengeance against the officers * and soldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself detesting the *Argyraspides* as impious and savage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, governor of Arachosia,† under whose direction he put them, to take every method to destroy them: so that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or set his eyes upon the Grecian sea.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

THESE are the most remarkable particulars which history has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparison: We observe, first, that though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and respectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his superior merit; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head: but those who acted under Eumenes, never had recourse to him, till experience had showed them their own incapacity, and the necessity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to

* Antigenus, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by orders of Antigonus, put in a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Cerbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

Rome; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole world. It should be considered too, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator, and had led armies before; but Eumenes with the disreputation of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also in the road to honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and as many formed private designs against his life; whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the last, that a few of his own party entered upon a private scheme to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over when he had gained a victory; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among those who envied his success.

Their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took; The latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himself against his restless persecutors. For Antigonus would have taken pleasure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority, and been content with the station next to his; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command: the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not live in peace. Eumenes, therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprised of his impending fate; the other expected his every moment. The one had the candid praise of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the censure of weakness; for he would have fled,* but could not.

* Upon notice of the intention of his enemies to destroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he should give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

The death of Sertorius did no dishonour to his life; he suffered that from his fellow-soldiers which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains,* he wanted to live; so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but, by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only master of his body.

* This does not appear from Plutarch's account of him. He only desired Antigonus either to give immediate orders for his execution, or to show his generosity in releasing him.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.